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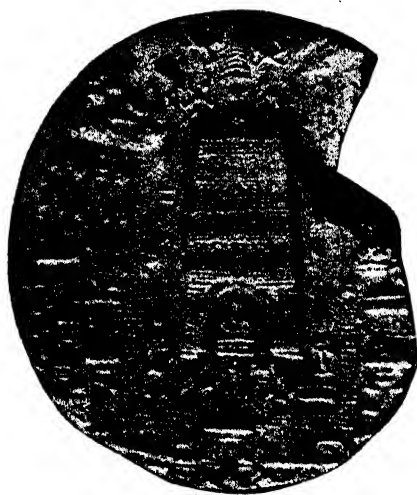
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[PARTS I & II

VICTORY.

By KALIKINKAR DATTA.

The recent European Victory of the Allies against the tremendous upheaval caused by the illegitimate ambitions of the Axis powers is a matter of supreme satisfaction and immense relief for humanity at large, which had been confronted, for the last few years, with a malignant and acute crisis in different quarters of the globe. It means the total annihilation of those anarchic forces of aggression, high-handedness and reaction, which being inherent in the philosophy of Nazism threatened to arrest the march of civilization on sound lines and to destroy all prospects of democracy, order and peace.

The collapse of the enemy forces is the outcome of close collaboration and comradeship of the most progressive nations of the world, the superlative political genius of their respective leaders, the unsurpassable gallantry and sacrifices of their military heroes, and the loyal co-operation of the Governments of the British Empire. We feel pride and happiness to think that India's contributions towards the achievement of victory have been manifold, substantial and remarkable. In a recorded broadcast on A.I.R. on the 13th May last, the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, noted: "To the 'Armed Forces of India Command', the collapse of Germany means the end of a struggle in which India has been incessantly engaged for five long years. The story of her efforts in men, money and material has been told before and I will do no more

now than remind you that it is a story of magnificent achievement in the face of great difficulties".

We all fervently hope that this victory, to be soon followed by the utter rout of Japan, will mark a turning point in the history of world civilization by laying the "foundations of an honourable, just and stable peace" as His Majesty the King-Emperor expressed in His victory message to the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We confidently believe that it will usher in a new epoch, characterised by the emancipation of mankind from the crushing load of unreason and aggrandisement and by the attainment of those glorious ideals of internal concord and international amity which were preached and practised by the great Maurya Emperor Asoka in the days of remote antiquity. Let a new world arise, based on faith, brotherhood and love. Let it be fully marked by the unfettered progress of human society on rational and humane principles so that the woes and agonies of afflicted humanity may be buried with the dead past, and let there be also a due recognition of the claims of culture in the most comprehensive sense of the term as the truest means for the perfection of manhood.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY 1944.

By THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE SIR SAIYID FAZL ALI, KT.

It is my pleasant duty to offer to Your Excellency a most cordial welcome on behalf of the Council of the Bihar Research Society.

At the present moment a great many schemes are being devised and discussed as part of a general plan for post-war re-construction in India. Most of these schemes relate to politics, science, industry, economics or development of schools and Universities and the Council feel that unless the claims of India's culture are also pressed by societies such as ours, the most valuable part of India's great national heritage will be submerged and lost. We trust that Your Excellency as the Patron and President of the Society will offer to us such guidance and support as may be necessary in this connection.

In reviewing the work of the Society during the past twelve months I must, following the practice of previous years, allude in the first instance to some of the important topics discussed in our Journal by certain eminent scholars.

The first article in the March issue of our journal is entitled "The History of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty". Its author, Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya who is Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda, has given here his own translation of, and comments on, the verses of the *Kaliyuga-rājavṛttānta* which he asserts relate to the history of the Imperial Guptas. He is of opinion that the previously written works on the Gupta Dynasty are "not only incomplete but are also full of inaccuracies and unanswered problems" and that the study of a "neglected Purāṇa" would "supplement and correct our existing knowledge on the subject". Whatever might be the views of the other scholars regarding the exclusive value of Puranic evidence on which he has emphasised so much, it is hoped that his observations will evoke fresh interest for additional studies in regard to one of the most important periods of Ancient Indian History.

In the next paper Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator of Patna Museum, has recorded his study of a rare and interesting Persian Manuscript dated 950 A. H. (1543 A. D.) which was described by Emperor Shah Jahan himself as "*Tuhfat-us-salatin*" or "A present of kings". The present owner of this valuable work, Mr. P. C. Manuk, lent its use to the writer of the article, who points out that it was once stocked in the Imperial Library of the Great Moghals as it bears autographs of the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan and some other interesting endorsements on its flyleaf. It contains not only some important historical details but also "selected verses" of the renowned poet Amir Shahi, written by the famous calligraphist Mr. Ali.

The third paper, which is contributed by Dr. K. K. Datta of Patna College, presents to us a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the final cession of the Dutch possessions in India to the British Government in A. D. 1824-25 and of all the relevant transactions connected therewith. It is based wholly on some unpublished documents of the Imperial Record Department, New Dehli. We read here how, according to the terms of the treaty signed at London on the 17th March, 1824, between the British Government and the Government of the Netherlands, the former "obtained some territorial possessions of great value in strengthening the edifice of the British Empire in the East". In another article in this issue, which is contributed by Professor Jagadish Narayan Sarkar of Patna College, we get perhaps for the first time on the authority of some contemporary Persian works a picture of Golkanda administration before Mir Jumla's rise to power in that kingdom and also a critical discussion of the functions which its officers like the Peshwa, the *Mir Jumla* the *Sar-i khail* and the *Havaldar* of Masulipatam had to discharge.

In the June number appeared a comprehensive review of the manifold achievements and glories of the University of Nalanda by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Professor of History, Lucknow University, who addressed the last Annual Meeting of our Society on the same subject. It is well known that this famous University attracted students from the distant lands of China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Tibet and Ceylon and we cannot but feel admiration for those successive batches of Nalanda scholars who having distinguished themselves in various branches of knowledge under the auspices of this creative

Academy of Higher Learning went out to far off regions carrying sublime messages of Indian culture and thought.

In the second article of this number Professor Jagadish Narayan Sarkar has thrown new light on Mir Jumla's conquests in the Karnatak after having critically studied some letters exchanged between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla, which he has been able to utilise from Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of the British Museum copy of *Haji Abdul Ali Tabrezi's Golkunda correspondence*.

In his paper entitled "Missionary Education in the Sontal Parganas" Dr. K. K. Basu of T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur, describes how an attempt was made by the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society for the establishment of schools among the Sonthals, and how the scheme was discontinued by the Court of Directors in 1857 and under their instructions a new one was formed with a view to establishing Government institutions in that area.

In the same issue Mr. B. Ghosh of Allahabad has contributed a learned paper on the subject of "Indian Embassy to Khusru II of Persia" and Professor Anil Chandra Benerjee of the Calcutta University has pointed out the relation of Sikhism to the Medieval Indian Reformation and has discussed certain striking features of the latter.

The last two articles in this number form the product of a critical study of some important epigraphs, preserved in the local Museum by Mr. Priyatosh Banerjee, a Research Scholar in the History Department of the Patna College. The first inscription studied here is located in the 17th year of the reign of VIṢṆUGUPTA, who, according to the writer, belonged to the eighth century A. D. and was grandson of the famous Ādityasena of the Apshad inscription and the son of Devagupta mentioned in the *Deobarnak inscription of Jīvita-Gupta II*. The other two inscriptions studied by him are the *Mathurā Inscription of Devaputra Kaniska* and the *Patna Museum Brahmi Inscription from Mathurā*.

Shortage and high price of paper compelled us to bring out a combined number of September and December, 1944. The first article in this number is an original presentation of the "Early Stages in the Development of the Madras Judiciary" by an eminent Indian historian Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University. In the second article Professor Anil Chandra Banerjee has discussed some important points

regarding *Guru Teg Bahadur*, such as his character and military activities, the part played by him in the Assam expedition and his career of military adventure after his return from Assam and his death.

Dr. K. K. Basu's paper on "*Currency and Coinage in Bihar*", based on some old correspondence preserved in the Record Room of the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur, has also been published in this number. In his article entitled "*Has the Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi Reached us*" Mr. C. H. Shaikh, B. A. Hons. (Lond.), New Delhi, asserts that the *Muzaffar Shāhi* published by the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmadabad, is "identical with the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* which was dedicated to Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarāt. We have also included in this number a critical review of Mir Jumla's diplomacy by Prof. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, who observes that "like Bismarck tossing five balls at a time Mir Jumla could carry on intrigues successfully with several powers far and near, without in any way compromising his own position".

The last article is a valuable study by Dr. K. K. Datta of some India Office Letters, transcripts of which were obtained by him in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, in which he has carefully scrutinised the instructions sent by the Court of Directors in England to the Council in Calcutta in view of the strained Anglo-French relations in 1755-56.

This brief review of the contents of our Journal during the past twelve months would show that we were able to publish in it some original and highly instructive papers relating to the varied aspects of Indian history and culture, contributed by scholars of repute from different parts of the country. I am confident that this Journal enjoys a well deserved reputation in India and abroad for the high standard of its publications and that our Society has ever since its foundation in 1915 rendered conspicuous services to the cause of research in all branches of Indology.

Our Library, to which some valuable additions have been recently made, is well equipped with rare books, manuscripts, memoirs and maps indispensable for any kind of advanced study and can supply its members, interested in research work, with every up to date Indian and foreign journal dealing with subjects of oriental history and civilisation.

The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts has produced fruitful results. Dr. Chowdhry, who has very kindly inspected the work of the Mithila Pandit Visnulal Sastri, has submitted his report to the Council. It appears that the Pandit was engaged this year at headquarters arranging the manuscript materials for the catalogue and getting them ready for the press. The catalogue is divided subject-wise into nine volumes, of which four, viz., those on (1) Smṛti, (2) Literature, (3) Jyotiṣa and (4) Vedas have already appeared in print. The remaining five volumes namely, those on (5) Epics and Purāṇas, (6) Vyākaraṇa, (7) Philosophy, (8) Tantra and (9) Miscellaneous subjects (e. g., Kosa, Vaidyaka, Kāmaśāstra etc.) are now ready for the press, as also the supplementary volumes to the first four published ones.

We have also, thanks to the efforts of Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail and Khan Saheb S. H. Askari, acquired a number of valuable Persian manuscripts for our Library. We think, however, that we must strive hard to do much more as we have a vast mass of untapped manuscript-documents of historical importance not only in the Divisional and District Record offices of the Government but also in many private collections in different centres or secluded corners of some rural areas. I feel that the Government, the University, the enlightened members of the public and the representatives of old and historic families should take greater interest in rescuing these valuable raw materials of Indian history from the ravages of time, climate and the unfavourable influences of ignorance and prejudice. The *ad hoc* Records Regional Survey Committee formed by the local Government with Dr. K. K. Datta as its convenor, according to the suggestion of the Indian Historical Records Commission, deserves all possible facilities and help in this matter.

Before I conclude I must thank Mr. Sham Bahadur, Mr. Justice Sinha, Mr. Taraporewala and Dr. Chowdhury for their work as Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian and also the members of the Council for the keen interest they have taken in the affairs of the Society. I must also take this opportunity of acknowledging the very valuable service rendered by Dr. Datta, whose researches in Indian History are well known, in regard to the editing of the Journal of the Society.

EARLY STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MADRAS JUDICIARY.

PART II.

By RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M. A.

I

The Charter of 1726 definitely declared that in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, as conveyed to them in their letter to Bengal of 17th February 1726, the Mayor's Court was to conduct the management of civil affairs "as near as could be agreeable to the practice and methods of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George". Thus Madras became the model. Along with the Charter of 1726, the Directors sent a Book of Instructions explaining the methods of procedure in all actions and suits, civil and criminal, and the forms of the oaths to be taken. We learn from Shaw¹ that "various books and instructions for the proceedings of the new court in all actions, as well civil as criminal, and in proving of will and in granting of Letters of Administration of Intestates' Estates, together with the forms of the several oaths, directed by the Charter to be taken, which books were compiled with great care, and with the advice and assistance of the ablest lawyers in the several branches of business therein treated off were sent to India." It is unfortunate that no copies of these books and documents could be found in the India Office, though duplicates were sent out from London on the 24th January 1753; and it is held that there is reason to believe that in one of them the doctrine was first laid down, that by the Charter of 1726, all the Common and Statute Laws at that time extant in England were to be brought into force in the Indian Presidencies and all enactments of Parliament passed since that date were to be regarded as not being applicable, unless expressly extended, to India. This doctrine had long been established and accepted beyond dispute. But it is worthy of

1 J. Shaw: Charters of the East India Company, Madras 1887 (Introduction).

notice that in the celebrated cause of Nandakumar, all the Judges of the Supreme Court who heard it held that the dividing line was drawn by the Charter of 1753, the only doubt expressed being whether the condition and circumstances of the place and the persons admitted of the law being administered as in England.¹

Copies of the registers of the proceedings of the Courts of the Presidency were regularly sent every year to the Directors and were subjected, under their orders, to a close scrutiny by their Counsel, which was sometimes very elaborate, particularly for the first three years of the operation of these courts, as seen from the Despatches of the Company of the years 1929-31. The remarks of the Company's Counsel and Attorney helped the Courts to apply the fundamental principles of English Law and such supplementary instructions as would ensure a fair trial.

As for the reasons that prompted the Company to apply to the Crown for the Charter of 1726, we learn that their application contained a request for the remedy of two defects that were found to be frequently occurring in the judicial administration of the Company's settlements. The first was the refractoriness of the soldiers who sometimes deserted to the enemy and joined them in attacking their previous masters, and were often engaged in drunken brawls, which led to riots, bloodshed and even murder on occasions. There had, however, been in operation in Madras from 1672, appropriate military regulations for the punishment of such crimes; and these had been revised by Governor Streynsham Master in 1678. It was not until the Mutiny Act of 1754 empowered the application to the Company's forces of provisions corresponding to those embodied in the Annual English Mutiny Acts that the situation was effectively remedied. But the Charter of 1726 did not help to remove this difficulty entirely as it authorised the use of Martial Law only in time of war.

The Charter conferred on the Mayor's Courts power to grant probates and letters of administration even in cases where the executors of a deceased person, or his legal representatives if he died intestate, were not in the settlement. The Despatch to Madras of 17th February 1727 points out this difficulty and cites the instance of a litigious person, one Woolaston, who brought several suits in England against

1 *Ibid*: Introduction, pp. xvi and xvii.

the Company and their representatives in India on account of the estate of his deceased son and got £300 as compensation. The previous practice had been for the Council to take possession of the effects of a deceased servant, to sell them by public auction and to deposit the proceeds with the Company for the benefit of his heirs. Also the Council used occasionally to seize property without proper judicial sanction, on account of the indebtedness of the person whose property was so seized. When a case came up wherein the goods of a covenanted servant had been attached in a somewhat arbitrary manner on account of his alleged indebtedness to the Company, the Court of Directors held that the dispute should have been referred to judicial adjudication, "since there is a proper Court established for this purpose, and which in a great measure was erected to prevent our officers taking upon themselves to intermeddle in and dispose of the properties of others in an extra-judicial manner." They added that the right of the Company to seize a covenanted servant's effects under his covenant did not preclude him from contesting the whole or part of the alleged debt; "and therefore it is that the Company have been so often called to account in Chancery respecting such seizures, which the Council of Contending Partys always call by the names of Arbitrary and Illegal, and if in the event of the Suit it appears to the Courts here that the Company is debtor on the balance of the Account, they have been decreed and very justly too, to repay the money with interest and sometimes with costs."

Thus, one of the main reasons for the Charter was therefore the Company's desire to avoid civil litigation in England "due to excessive intermeddling with private property". This necessitated the establishment of courts with civil and testamentary jurisdiction and with power to take cognizance of such cases; and they should be established under authority that would make the courts and their judgments perfectly valid in the eye of English law. The previous Mayor's Court at Madras had indeed been established indirectly by permission of His Majesty. The Admiralty Courts authorised by the Charter of 1683 had vanished. The Charter of 1726 therefore meant the authoritative introduction of English Law into the Presidency towns and anticipated that feature of the Regulating Act which created the Supreme Court and definitely introduced English laws and procedure in Calcutta.

II

The Sessions Court of Oyer and Terminer which was set up by the Charter, insisted on trial by jury in all criminal cases. There was to be not only a Petty Jury of 12 persons for the actual trial, but a Grand Jury of 24 as well, which was to be empanelled before every session for the preliminary finding of a *true bill*. The Grand Jury often showed themselves quite independent of, and even hostile, to the President and Council; and their presentments frequently dwelt on matters of a general character, bearing on the administration of justice and also on other matters of common interest for the settlement. Their perusal makes curious and interesting reading. Their true bills were often trenchant criticisms of the actions of the President and members of his Council, thrown out as a personal challenge, as himself (the President) and two or more of the five senior Members held Quarter Sessions as Justices of the Peace. All this meant that the old, and often arbitrarily exercised, jurisdiction of the Governor and Council was now re-established in proper form and with all the restraints that were implied in trial by jury.

The jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court was somewhat indefinite in its external periphery. Of course, Indians were subject to English laws in all criminal matters within the Presidency and the subordinate factories thereof. Indeeds for some time past, it had been the custom in Madras, as also in Calcutta, that in cases where Indians were accused and tried for capital offences a jury should be empanelled, composed of English men and Indians in equal proportions. The Grand Jury, as noted above, made presentation of their true bills on matters technically outside the scope of administration of justice, but which in their opinion needed attention, *e. g.*, the condition of the town Gaol, the fixing of prices and wages and similar matters. They insisted sometimes that these and other presentments of theirs should be actually read out and properly replied to in open court; and they refused, if they did not get proper responses to their presentments, to examine the bills of indictment put up, because all indictments had to be referred in the first instance to the Grand Jury and only those on which that body found a true bill were to be actually tried before

the Judges and the Petty Jury. The English procedure in criminal cases was carefully followed.¹

As Fawcett remarks, the insistence on the observance of English law and procedure was carried to an extent that was not at all suited to the needs of the times. Many of the observations and comments on the proceedings of the Courts made by the Company's Standing Counsel and Attorney related to "minutiae of the English Law, such as the exact phraseology of an indictment". Indeed, some of their remarks were of a technical, rather than of a substantial, nature. But their general object was to impress on the Courts the value of applying the fundamental principles of English Law and the necessity of having the fairest possible trial. Usually they contained useful instructions; but it was understood that they were not to be taken as dictating in any manner to the Courts, but only as giving advice on points which were deserving of enforcement on account of their intrinsic justice and reasonableness.

In 1731 a special heading was started in the Company's Despatches to the Indian Presidencies for remarks relating to the Charter. The task of making these remarks was entrusted from 1732 to their Standing Counsel and Attorney who were to send their comments separately because the books and records of the Proceedings of the Courts had become "so voluminous" by this time that it was impracticable for the Directors to attend to them. The Councils of the Presidencies were required to submit any questions on which they

¹ Thus at the beginning of the trial the Clerk of the Peace asked the prisoner at the bar.

"How say—are you guilty or not guilty?"

The prisoner—Not guilty.

The next question of the Clerk—How will you be tried? And the consecrated answer should always be—By God and my Country.

The Clerk says—God send you a good deliverance!

Forthwith, the Petty Jury was summoned and sworn in. When the prisoner was silent and refused to plead, the Jury was to decide whether he was mute, "fraudulently, wilfully and obstinately, or by the Providence and act of God".

When a prisoner refused to plead, the trial could not legally go on. And the Justices pronounced, as in England, the dreadful formula of the *peine forte et dure*.

The Juries often assessed the value of stolen property at a very low figure in order to bring that category of offences outside the scope of the English law of felony and they could consequently inflict a milder sentence than death.

A person found guilty of man-slaughter was allowed to plead Benefit of Clergy, so that his property might not be confiscated to the Crown. Branding was often done with cold iron.

might feel difficulty or doubt for the concurrent opinions of the Company's law-officers and also of the Attorney-General of the Crown.

As has been remarked elsewhere, the straight and narrow adherence to English law and procedure was accompanied by its own evils. In the first place, it was found frequently unsuitable for the prompt and satisfactory disposal of causes, both civil and criminal, in which the native inhabitants of the settlements were involved, as "the difference between the conditions of England and those of India and between the atmosphere of Westminster Hall and that of the Courts of India" was apt to be overlooked. In fact, the Charter was, in the opinion of the Directors (*vide* their Despatch of 5th April 1727 to Bombay), designed principally for the "Government and benefit of Europeans"; and it was held to imply the continued recognition of any peculiar customs of the native inhabitants. In their Despatch of the 12th February 1731, the Company thus explained that the main principle to be followed in this respect should permit the prevalence and the operation of native procedure and usage as far as possible:—"We say in the next place that such differences that happen between the Natives in which the King's subjects are not involved, these may and should be decided among themselves, according to their own Customs or by Justices or Referees to be appointed by themselves or otherwise as they think fit; but if they request and choose them to be decided by English laws, those and those only must be pursued, and pursued too according to the directions in the Charter; and this likewise must be the case when differences happen between Natives and subjects of England, where either party is obstinate and determined to go to Law." But in spite of the warning given by the Directors in this respect, the procedure in the Madras Courts in the years 1726-46 was marked by a growing and an obviously impatient application of English law and procedure even in the causes of Indians who explicitly showed their desire to follow their own customary processes.

After the Charter of 1726, a supplementary one was issued on the 17th November 1727 (i George II) by which all fines inflicted by the Courts established under the Charter were granted to the Company. The year 1728 witnessed the issue of another Charter (2 George II) under date 4th November, by which the Commissioners of the Admiralty empowered the captains of the ships belonging to the Company to

seize foreign ships sailing from the Austrian Netherlands to the East Indies.

III

The Charter of 24th September 1726 which established these civil and criminal courts that derived their authority from the King instead of the Company marks a turning point in its policy. Hitherto the Company had confined the exercise of judicial powers to persons who were its servants or free merchants dependent on its pleasure; and it had established no courts under immediate commission from the Crown. The Mayor's Court of Madras established under the Company's Charter of 1687 was now to be superseded by a new court, which was to be of a uniform type for the three Presidencies and based on a royal charter. The President and Council were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court. They could remove an Alderman for misconduct in his office, but could only do so after a proper hearing of his defence. Although the Governor and Council were a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Mayor's Court, their appellate authority was modified by a right of appeal to the King in Council in all cases where the value of the property in dispute exceeded 1,000 pagodas. The first appeal made from India to the Privy Council was one from Madras in 1731.

The Charter was received in Madras in July 1727 with instructions that it should be put into force within the next 30 days. The Mayor and nine Aldermen were to form the Body Corporate of whom seven should be natural born subjects of the Crown and two might be subjects of any friendly Prince or State. The first Mayor and Alderman were nominated in the Charter. Thereafter the Mayor was to be elected annually; but the Aldermen were to continue for life unless removed. Vacancies among the Aldermen were to be filled up by co-option. The first Sheriff was the Junior Member of the Council, but afterwards, the Sheriff was to be elected by the Governor and Council annually. In a letter to the Council at Fort St. George, the Directors took care to inform the Mayor's Court not to meddle in the customs of the different Hindu Castes in the matter of the disposal of the estates of deceased persons and other privileges and to avoid as much as possible putting any of the Moors to death unless the crime should be either murder or piracy and the proofs be positive and plain.

The Charter provided that probate of bills and letters of administration should be granted to the Mayor's Court. It was at first arranged that the Justices of Peace should also be Justices of the Choultry and should decide small causes up to 20 pagodas. But finding that such decisions of the Justices were liable to be appealed against, to the Mayor's Court, the Council resolved in November 1727 to erect a Sheriff's Court for deciding petty causes without right of appeal to the Mayor's Court, unless, the value of the judgment was greater than 5 pagodas. The registration of slaves and of sales of houses and lands was also transferred to the Sheriff. This Sheriff's Court which superseded the Choultry Court found, however, no favour with the Directors and was abolished in July 1729. The Choultry was once more presided over by the Justices of the Peace.

The new Charter greatly increased the volume of litigation. The Mayor's Court was to be maintained from the proceeds of the weighing and the measuring duty which was assigned to it and also from the fines imposed. George Torriano, a well known character of Madras, served as Clerk of the Peace and also as Coroner and he was to prosecute all causes for the Company as their Attorney. In 1731 the Directors appointed Henry Rumbold to be their Attorney and Solicitor.

Regarding the litigation that was growing to an extraordinary extent, the Directors wrote to Fort St. George on the 12th February 1731 thus: "We do not at all wonder at your not being able to send duplicates of the Mayor's Court till January shipping. Little did we imagine that the number of suits at Fort St. George should rival those of one of the courts at Westminster Hall. This can be only owing to a vexatious temper or to a want on desire to try the experiment of law suits upon the coming of this new charter."

IV

Soon there were disputes between the Council and the Mayor's Court. In 1734, the Mayor's Court ruled that the Mayor was immune from prosecution when George Torriano¹ who was also Secretary to

¹ He joined service in 1719, served as Clerk of the Peace as well as Coroner, in which capacity he had to prosecute all causes for the Company as their Attorney and later became the Secretary.

Government sued him for non-payment of a bet. The Council held that their Secretary had been treated with indignity. They also ordered that the Mayor's Court should not levy fines except by means of the Sheriff's process. But the Court imposed penalties on a number of persons who had declined to serve as Alderman when called upon to do so. The Corporation declined to accept the resignation of a member on the ground that it was difficult to get persons to serve, though the Council had granted the member leave to proceed to Bengal, provided he resigned the membership of the Corporation. The Council informed the Mayor and Aldermen that they had no right, by the terms of the Charter, to inflict Pains and Penalties. They also refused to recognise the competence of the Corporation to re-elect the same person as Mayor for a second time; and the President flatly refused to administer the oath to the person elected on the ground that the Charter did not recognise a re-election. The Court, on the other hand, challenged the right of the President to interpret the true meaning of the Charter and declared that they would not be convinced that they had deviated from the terms of the Charter until they should be informed by an authority well-versed in the laws of England "which the Courts have hitherto found no reason to think of the Governor and Council."¹ Thereupon the Council wrote to the Directors on the subject who replied, after consulting their Standing Counsel, that the Court was too apt to "assume greater power than legally belonged to them or became them." But they also warned the Council that they should do nothing to obstruct the regular course of justice or discountenance those who had a right to sit on the Bench so long as they behaved in a prudent manner.

The Governor and Council elaborated in their letter to the Directors of 22nd January 1735 on all the evils arising from the conflict of authority created by the Charter and by its child, the Mayor's Court. The language and sentiments embodied in that letter recall to the student's mind much of the temper and issues of the controversy between Warren Hastings and his Council and the Supreme Court. A portion of this letter is given below for illustration.²

¹ P. C. 5th August 1734.

² "This Charter is a novelty which, by dividing the authority of the Government, has occasioned a like division in the obedience of the people. The Effects thereof have been gradually known, but are too sensibly felt in the Confusion and Disorders of

the Place: Discord and Faction have so disturbed the tranquillity of the Settlement that the natives, heretofore used to a different way of thinking from their education and the principles of their Religion, are now, by the new doctrines which are broached and inculcated among them, become exceeding slack and loose in their dependance, and we have too much reason to be convinced that the Curb and Reins of the Government are too weak to keep them within the bounds of their duty, and to prevent their engaging in Schemes that aim at little less than involving the place in blood and ruin, Attempts new and unheard of till these latter days, and which will require great application to prevent their taking effect. If our resentment has not been equal to what such crimes deserve, it has proceeded from a Defect in our Constitution which checks us in our resolutions of making any obey us, and very often obliges us to dissemble with those who do so.

"The rise and spring of these disorders we must impute to the disputes we have had with the Mayor's Court that have occasion'd much Scandal, which with it's hidden poyson has had a great Effect upon the minds of the ignorant and unreasoning people: nor have there been wanting those who have been indefatigable in their endeavours to invalidate our authority, both acting and talking with the utmost contempt of it.....

"We know not what resolution your Honours may come to with regard to the Charter. If it must still subsist in the form and manner it does at present, we shall be under a necessity of compiling a set of By laws, that we believe will be very voluminous and perhaps at last difficult to execute. The Customs, Manners and Constitution of the People, the nature of your Trade, and the clashing of the Powers of the Country Government being all obstacles to a strict observance of any Laws that can be devised. Add besides, that as no By Laws must have any force or Effect till they have been approved in England, it is very probable few of them will ever have any Effect at all, as the best heads we have here may not be sufficient to provide against all the arts and subtelties that may be contriv'd and that of to evade them. Many things are submitted to at present rather from the force of Custom and the order of Sallabad than any real obedience to the Authority of the Government, an authority that will still be less regarded and complied with till they are made more sensible of the Strength of it from England (P. to Eng., Vol. XI, 22nd Jan. 1934-5).

After obtaining the opinion of their Standing Counsel, the Directors replied, in their Despatch of 6th February 1736, that they judged from the past conduct of the Court that they were too apt to assume more power than did legally belong to them. They passed strictures on the court that they were wanting in due deference and respect for the Council who were their superiors as well as for the Company and the Settlement; and they threatened the judges of the Mayor's Court with deportation out of their settlement if they should persist in their factious conduct "And we hereby acquaint them once for all that, in case any such like cause of Complaint in future is given us from that Quarter, now their duty is so plainly laid before them, we shall not suffer those who disregard the wholesome Advice which is given them to Trade within Our Limits."

At the same time the Directors warned the Council that they on their part should do nothing to obstruct the regular course of justice or discountenance those judges of the Mayor's Court who had behaved prudently and uprightly and kept within the due bounds of the Charter.

THE ARTS OF NEPAL.

By PERCY BROWN, A. R. C. A.

It seems hardly necessary for me to explain to you, in Bihar, the geographical position of the country of Nepal, as being such a near neighbour you will be no doubt aware of its area and configuration. I may remind you, however, of several factors, which have had some influence on the productions of its people. In the first place it is a mountainous country, throughout almost its entire length and breadth, so that its arts are those usually associated with such heights, its buildings contain a considerable amount of woodwork obtained from its forests and the subjects of their handicrafts display many mythical beings and creatures which seem always to be much in evidence among the hill-folk. In the second place almost all the art productions of Nepal date from what may be termed, the late mediaeval period, the golden age of the country during the supremacy of a dynasty known as the "Malla Rājas". These kings governed the country from the 14th to the 18th centuries, and it was under their patronage that the finest art was developed. Although from its inception this Malla dynasty appears to have given every encouragement to the arts, it was under the 7th and 8th rulers of the line, who reigned in the 15th century that they reached their highest state. During the reign of one of these, Raja Jayastithi Malla, who occupied the throne for the long period of 40 years, the foundations of the style were laid, and it was at this time that the influence of India was strongest, as this ruler was noted for his marked Brahminical tendencies.

The inhabitants of the country at this time were a race known as Newars, people of a pronounced artistic nature, and the productions I propose to place before you are entirely the works of this indigenous population.

Thirdly, this development of the arts of Nepal does not extend over the length and breadth of the country, largely owing to the broken character of its terrain, but is confined almost entirely to one localised area of open country towards the centre of the state and usually referred

to as the Valley of Nepal. It is from this flat piece of country, in which the heart of the state beats, and where all its chief institutions are located, that all the examples I shall put before you this evening have been selected.

But finally, what to you in Bihar should be most interesting, is the association of the art of your own country with that of Nepal. I need only refer to that famous family of artists mentioned by Tāranāth in his history, Dhiman and his son Bitpalo, whose names have been handed down to us, and whose art flourished in these parts in the 9th century A. D. There is little doubt that the productions of these versatile masters, who appear to have been stone carvers, metal workers and painters, affected very considerably the arts of Magadha at the time of the Pala regime. You have examples of the work of this school in your Museum here at Patna, and there seems every reason to believe that this art carried to Nepal did much to form the character of the productions of the Newars of the country. This metal figure, from the shrine of Shwarjambu Nath, seems to me to approach most nearly to the later productions of the Pal and Sena period of the 9th and 10th centuries. My standard is the metal statue of the Buddha now in the Art Gallery of Birmingham, England, which I know well and have often used as a basis of comparison.

Let us therefore take the journey to Nepal and see for ourselves the art as it developed there in the cities of the Valley. But before undertaking a study of the mediaeval examples we may take a glance at one or two productions of an earlier period which have great antiquarian interest. It is recorded that the great Emperor Aśoka made a pilgrimage to the country, and on that occasion erected a large number of Stupas to commemorate the Buddhist Faith. This event would take place towards the middle of the 3rd century B. C., and on one of the most prominent sites in the Valley, there is the shrine of Shwayambu Nath, the chief feature of which is a Stupa. Now in view of the natural shape and appearance of this stupa, which takes the form of a rough untouched mound, I have hazarded the opinion that this is one of the stupas probably raised in the first instance by the Emperor Aśoka, and that it has retained its primitive appearance to the present day, surmounted by a large and recent superstructure, and surrounded by votive shrines and cells. Here is another very

famous stupa in Nepal, the Bodhi, which commemorates an ancient site, but has been modernised although probably retaining much of its original character.

But there are ancient records, associated with the introduction of Buddhism into the state, and here I have a small figure of the Royal Lady who had much to do with the spread of the religion in these parts. This is the Princess Brikhuti of the Nepalese Royal family who was the direct means of bringing the purer thought of Buddhism into the Animism, Shamanism, and other elemental creeds which darkened the lives of the people over a very large region in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. You will note that the Princess is attired in a rather unusual costume, which I think is more of an Indian character, than of the mountainous country in which she did so much missionary work. It seems not unlikely therefore that she was of Indian extraction. In any case when one comes to review the good effect this had on a very vast community who at that time were steeped in degrading practices, the Princess Brikhuti takes a place in history as one of the most remarkable women of all times.

It should be remarked however that in its primordial period the Valley of Nepal was not dry land, but a large shallow lake, almost unpopulated. In its pre-history it is recorded that a saint of the name of Mañjuśrī made a pilgrimage to this lake, and, by means of a sword, cut down the mountain barrier which kept the water up, so draining it away, and leaving it a very beautiful area of dry land. Mythologists have another and more elaborate account of this episode, and the geologists have also one of their own, but here is a portrait of the Saint Mañjuśrī with his sword, and he is regarded as the patron saint of Nepal to the present time.

In any study of Asiatic art, particularly as this concerns India, the productions in Nepal are of the utmost significance for the following reasons. In the first place the art and architecture of this country provide us with a facsimile, as near as the circumstances permit, of the art conditions that prevailed in India during the mediaeval period, and previous to the influence of Islam; in other words, they present a microcosmic picture of the Brahmanical India of the early Middle Ages. For Nepal, unlike the greater part of India, remained outside the sphere of the Muhammadan invasion, and therefore kept the original

character of its arts intact. On the other hand, in the productions of the Nepalese craftsmen, another factor has, however, to be reckoned with, and that is the art currents from China, and, in a much lesser degree, from Tibet. These streams from the Far East gave to the arts of Nepal that sinological character, which distinguishes them from the Buddhist and Brahmanical arts of India proper. The close proximity of the country to the vast territory of Tibet accounts for certain attributions of a lamaistic nature. A definition of Nepalese art, therefore, might be summed up in the rather complicated, but portmanteau designation, as of an Indian foundation formed on Hindu-Buddhist ideals, with which are assimilated influences from China and Tibet.

This view of the durbar square in the town of Patan, one of the capitals of Nepal, will explain the definition better than any description, as you will see the fusion of most of these elements in one picture. Architecture is usually the best illustration of a style, and specifically, by the appearance of the typical religious edifice, in this instance the temple. On the left of this scene you will identify a temple of Indian extraction, known as of the Indo-Aryan style, with its characteristic *śikhara*, or spire. As a contrast to this, in the centre of the picture, is a temple of an entirely different design, a structure which is usually referred to as a pagoda, recalling a form of building associated with the Chinese Empire. Here, therefore, you have examples of architecture representing the two great civilizations, the meeting of two traditions, two buildings side by side, the one having been conveyed from the south, from India, and the other having made the long journey from the east, from China. Nothing to my mind could signify more graphically the sources of inspiration of the arts of Nepal than these two contrasting types of religious structure. Here is another view of a durbar square, at Kathmandu, showing that in this instance the pagoda type of temple predominates.

After these preliminarys let us now begin our study of the mediaeval art and architecture of the country. I say "art and architecture" as in few countries is the architecture used more specifically as a background for the art than in Nepal. Here is an illustration of what I mean, it is a temple a brick building enclosing a cella for the divinity, but this building is almost entirely hidden by the art with which it is overlaid, with stone carving, metal work, colour, and every

known form of applied art. And many of these were not in the original builders scheme, but were contributions by devout pilgrims as an act of merit to the shrine. It was under such conditions that much of the art of the Newars was produced, and the deep religious spirit which was responsible for these contributions to temples and shrines is noticeable in their subject, character, and inspired workmanship.

But it was not only in their temples, but also in their civic structures that the art of the Newars rose to great heights, although it is often difficult to distinguish the religious from the secular. Of the latter, the palaces, durbar halls, and city squares, will show you what I mean. Some of the most striking examples of this development are the civic statues on pillars, that ornament the durbar squares of the towns of the valley. Many of these are portraits of members of the royal family, placed in a prominent position, and commemorative of the interest they have displayed in the formation of the buildings around them. Here is one of the finest of these statues, that of Raja Bhupatindra Malla, a metal figure surmounting a tall stone column in the centre of the durbar square at Bhatgaon. It is doubtful whether any other country has produced a more artistic form of memorial, and brought it more into accord with its architectural surroundings. No fanciful figure this, but a dignified portrait, sufficiently conventional to suit its purpose, a model of sculpturesque statuary. Kneeling in an easy and natural attitude and with clasped hands, from the height of his monumental pillar this ruler looks down serenely on the city that he governed, the temples in which he worshipped, the palace in which he lived, and the durbar hall in which he conducted the affairs of state. The well-proportioned stone pillar, some 40 feet in height, with its simple square shaft, stands firmly on a solid stone base above the flagged pavement. The shaft expands into a capital, necessarily large to accommodate the figure. There is a wealth of symbolism in this superstructure, and also much historical interest, as the same element, such as the distinctive form of the lotus petals, and the shape of the capital generally, may be seen in the Buddhist architecture of Kashmir, of a slightly earlier date. It represents, in the treatment of the lotus, the qualities of purity and divine birth, while the serpent below is the emblem of eternity. Then comes the lion throne, with one of these royal beasts supporting each corner, and between them, imitated in the metal, falls an embroidered *masnad* or imperial carpet. Before the

figure of the king lies his sword of honour, and above, shading and protecting him, is the golden umbrella signifying his royal state.

Here is a picture of this statue with its surroundings, showing how well it has been designed to conform to its architectural setting. It fronts the Durbar Hall, while other buildings, religious and secular, form the background.

Here is another view, showing it from a different angle, and you will see in the background the entrance to the Durbar Hall, consisting of a doorway of more than ordinary artistic character.

It is fitting that this fine statue should be fronting one of the most gorgeous works of art in the country, the Golden Portal of Bhatgaon. This entrance doorway, of which this is a larger picture, as an example of civic art can have few equals. It is of metal, copper-gilt, a composition in high relief against a brickwork porch, above which is a metal roof embellished with many artistic devices. In the centre of the massive tympanum, over the doorway, is the many-armed goddess Durgā, enshrined and accompanied by other lesser divinities. Above is a *garuḍa*, and also *Sesha* the serpent, with *apsaras*, or heavenly creatures, while on either side is a *mākara*, or spirit of the Ganges, with curling trunk and a huge projecting tongue, from which hangs a bell on chains to sound with the wind. On the side pilasters are other incarnations and symbols, while affixed to the wall are metal plaques depicting a form of the vase-and-foilage motif, an emblem which in one shape or another runs throughout Indian art from early times until late. As an illustration of the freedom of fancy exercised by the artist, you will note a lizard crawling up the doorpost as if it were alive, a little touch of nature not infrequent in the art of the Newars.

This picture shows another city square, at Patan, in which a somewhat similar statue of a king has been erected, but in this instance the figure is by a great cobra shadowing it with its expanded hood.

You will no doubt have noticed from these examples that the artistic manipulation of metal was a prominent feature in all the productions of the Newars, and it is clear that for a long time Nepal maintained a school of metalwork of a high standard. The metal used was almost invariably copper, both hammered and cast, and coated with a substantial layer of gold leaf. There are, however, certain examples which appear to have been cast in bronze, in this shrine, for instance,

the two large rats, signifying that it was dedicated to Gaṇeśa, being wrought in this material. The treatment of metal by this technical process seems to indicate a Chinese attribution, for I think it will be found that Indian metal-work is mostly composed of copper, whereas that from Far Eastern sources is usually bronze. Such a distinction, in material and technique, may be a means of defining the limits of these art currents respectively, where the craft of metal-casting is concerned.

Not only in his temples, not only in his figure and animal work, but also in more humble and utilitarian objects the Newar craftsman exercised his skill, as this copper spout amply proves. I discovered it within a dry and disused well into which I descended to take this picture. As you will observe it takes the form of a well-known motif in Asiatic art, the *makara*, an appropriate symbol, as it is presumed to express the waters of the Ganges. But I am putting it before you as an example of the exquisite design and execution of the foliage. The scrollwork is produced with a spirit and precision which can have few equals in the art of any country. And yet it is an ordinary spout for water in a public well.

In the same manner that the Newar craftsman worked in metal, so he manipulated his other material, that of wood. This is shown mainly on the house-fronts, although wood was used very considerably in supplementing the decorations of the temples, durbar halls, and palaces. Here is the entrance to a durbar hall at Patan, in which you will see that a large part of the facade is of wood, especially the projecting window above, which is a very rich example. Among other conceits in this design, which is replete with interesting symbolism, you will see the little lizards hanging on to the lintel of the lower window, showing how the Newar artist played with his material, as if it were clay. This lintel, by the way, together with the entire principle on which these Newar windows are constructed, with a beam projecting beyond the uprights both above and below, is founded on a very ancient tradition. You will see it reproduced in the early rock-cut architecture of India, so that it was evidently a common form in the wooden buildings of the Buddhists before the Christian Era, and even going back into Vedic times.

This example of woodwork, the entrance from the main street of Kathmandu into the courtyard of a temple (you will see evidences of a

cloth merchant's shop on either side, showing how closely trade and religion were combined in the life of the people), illustrates the use of two kinds of wood to obtain greater effect. Over the latticework of the lower part of the window, emblems in a white wood have been applied to produce a striking contrast of colour. Different coloured woods are often seen in the house-fronts and other wooden constructions.

Here is another house-front, showing you the versatile manner in which the woodworker handled his material, and turned it to such artistic advantage.

As you will have probably gathered, it was in the windows of his houses that the Newar carpenter concentrated his art, and here is an example of his skill in this direction. In this instance also several kinds of wood in different colours have been employed, which, with the intricate carving and latticework, have resulted in a very elaborate creation.

Here is another type of window, equally rich in its treatment, but of a rather different order. Students of the early Buddhist art of India will see, in the design and structure of this window, reminiscences of the decoration on the gateways at Sanchi. For on each side are Nepalese interpretations of those female figures, or dryads, which support the outer ends of the cross-beams on the *toranas* of this *stupa*, erected many centuries before. The linking up of these motifs, which emerge from time to time, is a fascinating subject; many of you will have noticed other familiar elements, but the evolution of these is somewhat outside the subject of my lecture.

Here is the front of a temple, one of the kind that faced the street, but in this instance much of the applied decoration is of carved wood, all the massive tympanums above the doorways and windows being of this material, but you will see that they are of the same character as the metal.

This depicts another type, little more than a wayside shrine, and dedicated to Gaṇeśa, the elephant god, as the metal figure of the rat, the vehicle of this divinity, on its pillar plainly indicates.

Another kind of temple was that raised on a high plinth, or terrace, approached by a flight of steps, and guarded by a series of large figures, as in this instance. There are several of these in the cities of the valley, and the effect of the supernatural beings and animals

flanking these tall entrances is hardly real—it is that of a dream-world. Here is a side view of the same staircase with its guardian figures, and showing the position of the temple in the durbar square.

This temple facade, projecting on to the main street, shows the artistic imagination possessed by the Newar craftsman, a combination of brick, stone, wood, and metal, he used all these to obtain his architectural effects.

Another facade in the main thoroughfare of Kathmandu, in which a pair of large conventional lion-like beasts emphasize the entrance.

Here is a view in one of the city squares showing how the pagoda type of architecture occasionally predominated.

Again, another type of temple, in this instance not in a courtyard but abutting on the street, and consisting of the same combination of metal, wood and stone against a warm red brick background. Although a conception somewhat different from the previous example, it displays a similar array of religious elements, every one having a meaning readily interpreted not only by the initiated, but also by the simple wayfarer.

No account of Nepal would be complete without a reference to the shrine of Paśupatināth, one of those temple-towns which grow up on certain hallowed sites, of which there are several famous examples in India. Here is a bird's-eye view of it, bordering the banks of the sacred stream from which it obtains its devout character. It is a Benares in miniature, as to live within its precincts brings great merit, but to die, lapped by its waters, implies ineffable bliss for evermore. It will be understood, therefore, the attraction that Paśupatināth has, not only to the inhabitants of the valley, but to those from distant parts. And its marked sanctity is shown by the great group of temples, shrines, and hostels which minister to the wants—religious and material—of the devotees. I know of few places more picturesque than this town of temples, when the crowds gather on the steps of the ghāṭs, clad in all the brilliant costumes that the Nepalese affect on festival occasions. You will see that the river is crossed by two curious bridges on the right. We will descend the hillside, from which this view was taken, on to the level.

Here you will see one of the shrines that stands on the banks of the ghāṭs, and as much of its woodwork was brilliantly painted, this, with its metal roofs and red brickwork, made a most colourful picture.

As an example of religious sentiment expressed in an artistic production, this figure of the god Nārāyaṇa, lying in a sacred tank, submerged all but the face, by the waters, and pillowed on the snake's hood. This finds a place in the peaceful garden of Balaji, a most delightful retreat not far from Kathmandu. There is a whole volume of mythology in this figure lying on its watery bed, but, briefly, Nārāyaṇa was so called because the waters, *nara*, were his first *ayana*, or place of motion. From this the association of the god with the origins of the valley, its sacred lakes in the mountains guarded by inaccessible peaks, and all the myths, legends, and folklore of the people are inextricably bound up, the whole being symbolized by this figure lapped by the water, the rhythmic movement of which simulates in a remarkable manner the effect of breathing.

I trust you have gathered, from the examples I have placed before you, that the cities of Nepal comprise a living museum of art during its mediaeval period. A study of its monuments will enable those interested in this subject to realize what an artistic period it was, and how the Newars rose to great heights in producing such wonderful examples. They did not really *strive* to execute these buildings, they appear to have emerged quite naturally as part of their understanding. And it is apparent that many of the towns of India at that period were not dissimilar from those in Nepal, but the passage of time and other causes have swept most of these historical buildings away. But where they remain, as in Nepal, all these records of the past should be jealously preserved, and a Society like yours is doing admirable work in this important field.

THE KALIYUGARĀJAVṚTTĀNTA AND THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS.

By JAGAN NATH, M. A., ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE.

In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society Vol. XXX, Part I pp. 1-46, DR. B. BHATTACHARYA has published what may be called an annotated translation of certain verses alleged to belong to an 'Old Purāṇa' called the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta*. Although these verses have been before the Indologists for the last twenty-eight years, ever since their publication in 1916 by Mr. T. S. Narayan Shastri in his work, 'The Age of Śaṅkara', DR. BHATTACHARYA claims to have thrown new light on the history of the Imperial Guptas, and he pities the lot of all previous writers on Gupta History. He is even highly indignant, at this negligence of the writers on Ancient Indian History. It is proposed to examine in this paper, whether these verses have really necessitated a revision of some important facts of Imperial Gupta History, as suggested by DR. BHATTACHARYA.

Before I start to discuss the new points of view based on the information supplied by these verses, I feel it is imperative to go into the question of the authenticity of these verses, particularly because Dr. *Bhattacharya* has himself stated that he has not consulted any Manuscripts of the work called *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta*, but has taken these verses from KRISHNAMACHARIAR'S 'History of Sanskrit Literature'. MR. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, too, does not refer to any MS. or printed edition of this 'Old Purāṇa'. He has taken the verses from the *Age of Śaṅkara* by T. S. Narayan Shastri, who is also absolutely silent regarding any details of the MS.

A Manuscript of the work called *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* is preserved in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.' It contains 26 complete *Adhyāyas*, while the 27th is incomplete. In this work we find an account of Cola King Sundara who ruled from 956 to 973 A. D.

There is mention of Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled in the eleventh Century A. D. (1018-1060 A. D.). Evidently, therefore, the work was composed or recast at the end of the XI Century. In this account of Kings which comes up to the XI century A.D. there is no mention of the Guptas. Not a single verse or a single name is to be found in this MS. Another MS. bearing the title *Kaliyugarājacarita* is described by Rev. W. Taylor at pp. 215-217 of Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts Vol. III. In this MS. the account of the various dynasties comes down to Śaka 1672 i.e., A.D. 1750, the time of Ahmad Shah. It is, therefore, a very late work, and its information cannot be trustworthy for the early period. This is clearly borne out by some ridiculous statements made in this work. It assigns a reign of 210 years to Candragupta, and of 2000 years to Vikramāditya.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the so-called 'Old Purāṇa' really does not exist. Instead, we have some accounts composed at different dates, and these evidently represent attempts made in different times to present the account of a particular ruling dynasty, in a historical setting. No MS. has been traced in which the verses, quoted by Mr. T. Narayan Shastri, may be found. In reality, these verses are of recent origin. They seem to have been composed after the discovery of the Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta, in 1889, as they contain an account of those Kings of the Gupta Dynasty only, whose names were known from the inscriptions, and who alone were regarded as Imperial Gupta rulers by the Epigraphists. This account, for instance, does not include the name of Budhagupta, apparently because up to that time Budhagupta was regarded by DR. FLEET and others only as a local ruler of Mālava, and not an imperial Gupta monarch. Now we know it definitely, that Budhagupta was a member of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty,¹ and his sway extended over Bengal, Bihar, United and Central Provinces. Had the account been based on genuine tradition, faithfully handed down in works of the Purāṇa category, there is no reason why the name of Budhagupta, who was certainly an important ruler of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty should have been omitted. There are other discrepancies also. This account omits the names of Purugupta, Viṣṇugupta and Vainyagupta, who are all

¹ Vide, his Seal, published by Dr. Hiranand in '*Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*', p. 64.

known to us from coins and sealings. Instead of Purugupta, it mentions Sthiragupta as the father of Narasinhagupta (here spelt as Nṛsimhagupta). The text of the Bhitari Seal owing to its illegibility in certain portions could not be definitely fixed for sometime; and Sthiragupta was an alternative reading suggested by Dr. George Bühler.¹ Such conjectures, however, are no longer possible. The real reading is Purugupta, and is supported by the Nālanda clay sealings of Narasinhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta, and Viṣṇugupta. These verses appear to have been composed in the nineties of the XIX century, and their author evidently adopted the form of the name suggested by Bühler and approved by Smith. The duration of the reigns of the various Gupta Kings is approximately in accordance with the rough calculations adopted by V. A. Smith in the earlier editions of his *Early History of India*, and before the Gupta chronology had been revised in the light of the discoveries of the Sarnath Inscriptions.

Now let us examine some observations of DR. BHATTACHARYA.

1. SAMUDRAGUPTA—A PARRICIDE.

DR. BHATTACHARYA remarks, "But the most amusing of all superstitions is that Samudragupta was selected by Candragupta as the Crown Prince in an open Durbar.....The real fact is that Samudragupta actually killed his father".

According to DR. BHATTACHARYA, Candragupta I, by killing two Andhra Kings and by cheating Kumāradevī had committed offences which could not go unpunished, and 'his son meted out to him the punishment which he so richly deserved.'

All these comments are directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the inscriptions of Samudragupta and his successors. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription and in all the later records of the Dynasty, Samudragupta is styled as 'favoured by the feet of' Candragupta, which indicates the former's reverential attitude towards the latter rather than any hostility or ill-will. Samudragupta was highly devoted to his father. In the Eran inscription it is stated that he was anointed to the throne by his father who was pleased with his devotion, valour etc.² If

¹ Cf *V. A. Smith* : "Dr. Bühler tells me that after very careful examination, he thinks that the correct reading is *Sthira*, and Sir A. Cunningham is inclined to accept this reading". *JRAS.* 1893 p. 83 f. n. 2.

2 भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन [युव] राजशब्दविभवैरभिषेचनाद्यैः । [संभावितः] परमदुष्टिपुरस्कृत्येन ।

Samudragupta was really disgusted with the conduct of his father, we cannot expect these respectful references in his own records. Dr. Bhattacharya has sadly missed the import of the verse¹ in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. The verse definitely refers to Samudragupta's own coronation to the throne. The entire verse portion preceding line 17 in the Allahabad Pillar inscription is connected with Samudragupta by the pronoun *tasya* occurring in the beginning of that line and cannot refer to anybody else. In this verse also Candragupta is described as highly pleased with his worthy son who received his blessings for a prosperous reign. That Kumāradevī, was ever ill-treated by Candragupta is altogether out of question. The gold coins which bear the portraits and names both of Candragupta and Kumāradevī, conclusively prove that Kumāradevī was honoured by Candragupta in a manner, in which perhaps few queens in history have been honoured,² and the statement of the 'Purāṇa' in this respect is definitely wrong. Then, if Candragupta was so affectionately disposed towards Samudragupta as depicted in the inscriptions, and if Kumāradevī had not been wronged as proved by the numismatic evidence, what was the head and tail of Candragupta's offence for which Samudragupta took the drastic revenge? If the murder of the Andhra Kings was a fact which had so much exasperated Samudragupta, why did he quietly wear the Crown, that had been obtained by foul means, instead of restoring the throne to the Andhras?

2. CANDRAGUPTA AS RĀJYAŚYĀLA

In this 'Puranic account,'³ Candragupta is said to have married a Licchavi princess, the younger sister of the queen of Candrasrī, and is styled as Rājyaśyālaka. This is evidently wrong. A *rājyaśyāla* is the brother of the queen of the ruling King. Here the 'Purāṇa' says something which is nonsense.

3. SKANDAGUPTA'S REIGN.

According to 'this account' Skandagupta ruled for 25 years, from Gupta year 137 to Gupta year 162 (*vide* DR. BHATTACHARYA'S table at

1 आर्यो ह्यस्य गुप्त भाव पिशुनेरुत्तरिण्यंते रोमभिः सम्भेषूष्णसितेषु तुल्य कुलज्जानानन-
नोद्गोषितः । स्नेहस्यालुखितेन वाष्पगुह्या तस्वेषिणा चक्षुषा यः पित्राभिहितः निरोष्य निखि
[जां पाद्येवमु] स्वीमिति ।

2. Even if these coins were struck by Samudragupta as memorial medals, they show his great affection for his father Candragupta. Why should he have commemorated a father whom he despised and regarded as a cheat?

3 *Vide* Verse 4.

p. 46). But Skandagupta's reign ended much earlier. There is no coin or inscription of Skandagupta which bears a date later than 148; while there is evidence to show that two other kings had ascended the imperial throne before the year 162. The Sarnath inscriptions of the years 154 and 157 point to the rule of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta respectively. This shows that Skandagupta had died at least before the Gupta year 154, and could not have ruled for 25 years as stated in this '*Old Purāṇa*'. Further DR. BHATTACHARYA says that Parākramāditya was the distinctive title of Skandagupta. But this title is not found on a single coin of Skandagupta. The titles found on his coins are Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.

4. KUMĀRAGUPTA II AND ĪŚĀNAVARMAN.

According to verse 26 quoted by DR. BHATTACHARYA, Kumāragupta son of Narasiṃhagupta achieved a victory over Īśānavarman. Here the author of the account has uncautiously betrayed himself. He is evidently compiling his account from the inscriptions, but being not quite conversant with historical details he has fallen into a pitfall. Kumāragupta who defeated Īśānavarman was a member of the later Gupta Dynasty founded by Kṛṣṇagupta.¹ He is not a son of Narasiṃhagupta, but of Jīvitagupta.

5. VARĀHAMIHIRA AND CANDRAGUPTA II.

DR. BHATTACHARYA assigns the dates 378 to 414 A. D. to Candragupta II, and yet he states that Varāhamihira 'was a gem of the court of Candragupta'. Varāhamihira according to the testimony of his own works lived between 505 and 587 A. D.

6. BHAṬĀRKA.

According to this '*Purāṇa*', "Kumāragupta, son of Nṛsiṃhagupta was served by Bhaṭṭārka". Commenting upon this DR. BHATTACHARYA remarks, "We can recognise in this Bhaṭṭārka the Senāpati Bhaṭārka who was the founder of the powerful Valabhi Dynasty. On the break up of the Gupta Imperial power in the year 565 A. D. Senapati Bhaṭārka must have set up an independent kingdom in Gujrat and Kathiawad". This statement shows how the implicit faith in the accuracy of this '*Purāṇa*' has led DR. BHATTACHARYA from one blunder

1. Vide, *Aphsaḍ Inscription of Ādityasena*, Fleet CII, III, page 200 ff.

The reference to Īśānavarman's defeat is to be found in the line भीमः श्रोतान-
हर्म्मचिति पतिशशिः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धुलक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥

to another. Bhaṭārka lived long before 565 A. D. His third son Mahārāja Dhruvasena I was ruling in 526 A. D. and his second son Mahārāja Droṇasimha had ascended the throne sometimes before 502 A. D. for in that year he issued the Bhamodra Mohottagranta. Bhaṭārka, therefore, must have lived considerably earlier, as Droṇasimha was preceded by his elder brother Dharasena I. This would bring Bhaṭārka to C. 475 A. D. just one hundred years earlier than the date assigned by DR. BHATTACHARYA, on the authority of this 'Old Purnāa' the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta*.

PALM-LEAF MSS. FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

Translated from the German of Lüders.

By MRS. TUHINIKA CHATTERJI, M. A., KAVYATIRTHA

The place of find and external peculiarity of the fragments.

During the review of the fragments from the palm-leaf manuscripts which Dr. Von. Le Coq found in one of the cave-temples of Ming-öi near Kysyl west of Kutscha, it struck me that a number of smaller fragments had a peculiar script. It was necessary, at first to collect these pieces and then to place them together as far as possible—a lengthy and tiring work to which I could enjoy the help of Dr. Siegling and my wife. Unfortunately, there did not result a complete leaf. But in many cases it was however possible to restore bigger fragments. Fragment I, which is composed out of eight or nine smaller pieces is 34·5 c. m. in length, the next biggest piece, fragment 8, is 25 c.m. long. The smallest fragments are hardly one square centimeter in size. In all there are⁽¹⁾ at present 144/ individual fragments of which 30 are not published here, since they either contain only a few letters or an usual Sanskrit word that has no value for the critical examination of the text. It is possible, that in future a few small pieces could yet be composed. Perhaps even with a renewed examination of the entire difficult surveyed material one or other fragments be moreover found, but hardly anything weighty will be added to what I can here put forward. The manuscript to which our fragments belong, undoubtedly originated in India and was only later on brought to Turfan. This already proves the material. The leaves used for writing originate from the Talipat palm. They are quite smooth and obviously prepared as in later times. A deep-black ink is used for writing. The character of the script clearly shows that reed-pen was likewise used as in later times.

The original length of the leaves to which the fragments 1 and 2 belong can certainly be calculated as the leaf contains verses. In the first line of the front page, a 'Śikhariṃ' strophé begins and ends in the second line. 13 akṣaras are missing. In the fourth line of the

front page a Vasantatilakā Strophe begins, ending in the first line of the reverse page, 10 akṣaras are missing. In the first line of the back page a suvadana strophe begins ending in the second line, 13 akṣaras missing. In the third line of the back page one Praharṣiṇī strophe begins, ending in the fourth line. 13 akṣaras are again missing. 13 akṣaras would approximately take 7 cm. and 10 akṣaras 5 cm. If one cm. is accounted for the margin, the whole leaf must have been 41—42 cm. long.

The fragment 27 leads to another finding. In the last but one line of 27^a, a p. sragdhara strophe begins ending in the last line. 73 akṣaras are missing, which require about 44 cm. Accordingly the total length of the leaves with 1 cm. margin would have amounted to about 55 cm. Fragment 65 shows a similar number. A Śārdūlavikrīḍita strophe concludes the second line of 65^b. In the first line we find the beginning of a pāda of a Śārdūlavikrīḍita strophe but which according to the contents can hardly be the first pāda of the strophe. If it is considered as the second pāda of the same strophe, the conclusion is that in the second line 41 akṣaras are missing, which require approximately 24 cm. The total length of the leaf might then have been 31 cm., with 1 cm. as margin. But according to the previous calculations this is much too short. If the pāda of the first line is considered as the last pāda of a preceding strophe, thus 79 akṣaras which fill up about 47 cm. are missing. The total length of the leaf with the margin must have amounted to about 54 cm. which rather precisely agrees with the deduced number of fragment 27. More indefinite is the number that follows from fragment 4. The fragment consists of two parts which according to the contents undoubtedly belong to one another even if they do not directly fit in together. In the fourth line of the front page a Vasantatilakā strophe begins, ending in the first line of the reverse. 33 akṣaras are missing. The gap in the middle of the leaf is so big that it is not possible to get a more precise indication. But even if it is as small as is possible to be measured, the total length of the leaf with the margin must have already come up to 45 cm., thus 3 cm. more than the length that has been found in fragment 1. But there is nothing in the way to assume that fragment 4 was originally 54—55 cm. long.

The height of the leaves is diverse. 4—5 c.m. may be taken as the average measure. But fragments 17 and 20 must have been about 5 c.m. high, on the other hand, fragments 8 and 27 are only 4 c.m. high. Towards the ends, the leaves sometimes become narrower. Fragment 1 is 4—6 c.m. high in the middle and only 4 c.m. at the right end. Fragment 8 is 4 c.m. in the middle and only 3 cm. at the right end. Fragment 10 is 4-5 c.m. in the middle and only 4 c.m. high at the further right. On the contrary fragment 4, having the average measure shows to the left end no reduction worth the name. The number of lines of the page also changes with the change of the height of the leaves. Generally, there are 4 lines, the broadest leaves 17 and 20 having but five.

Fragments 4, ^{7, 9}79, and 26 show traces of a hole through which the thread is fastened. In 4 and 7, it is found about 6-5 c.m. from the left margin. In any case, the leaves were fastened together at the left end by only one thread otherwise a hole for thread would show at the right end of fragments 1 and 8. This mode of fastening is the usual custom of the Central Asian manuscripts while the Indian manuscripts hitherto known to us have either such a hole in the middle or one on each side. Hoernle⁽²⁾ would therefore consider the single leftsided hole directly as the sign of the Central Asiatic manuscripts; our fragments show that in Central Asia, only the older Indian mode has been preserved.

Five fragments show numbers on the left margin. Fragment 5 is marked as 131. Fragment 4, shows the marks for 100 and 30; the traces of ink on the outermost margin prove that in the gap under these numbers one more figure was written. The cipher of 100 is intact on (fragment) 6, the 10 and the one are broken down. Traces of a page-mark are found also on 3 and 7 but cannot be deciphered. In all North Indian manuscripts hitherto known the number stands on the reverse of the leaf⁽³⁾. But it may not be such with our fragments because in 4 a strophe beginning on the side which has the number ends on the unnumbered page. Here, quite to the contrary, the front page must have the number. Obviously, this was the practice of the older times. I have found the same peculiarity of the number appearing on the left margin of the front page in one manuscript, that was discovered in Turfan,

of Indian origin of the Gupta-time, and also in a few of the older copper-plates of South India⁽⁴⁾ which are imitated on the palm-leaf manuscripts. Also in fragments 3, 5—7, I have accordingly named the pages carrying the numbers as front pages. The distinction of the front page and reverse in fragments 1 and 8, follows from its content. In all other cases it is more or less uncertain and I have differentiated the pages with *a* and *b* in such cases.

The script and the age of the fragments.

These contributions to the history of the Indian book can claim a peculiar interest on account of the age of the fragments which is proved with certainty from the examination of the script. He, who is well-acquainted with the older Epigraphy will perceive at first sight that the script of the fragments is the same as those that we find in the North Indian inscriptions of the time of the Northern Kṣātrapas and Kuṣanas. One can easily see it, if one of the greater Mathurā Inscriptions, say the inscription of the Cāṇḍaka Brothers, Ep. Ind. I, 390. Nr. 18 or the inscription Ep. Ind. II. 208, Nr. 34, is compared with our fragments. In spite of smaller deviations in details, the general impression of the script is the same. The same broad heavy forms which altogether miss the elegance and symmetry of the later Gupta script are present here as well as there. This alphabet is distinguished from the later Gupta ones especially by the "ma" which appears here generally⁽⁵⁾ yet in the old Brahmi form, although with corners instead of circular forms, while in the Gupta alphabets the lower part of the letter shrinks into a simple line. A second criterion is furnished by 'ṇa' whose middle vertical line forms here still one line, while in the Gupta time it appears divided into two lines. The middle 'ṛ' makes a third distinguishing characteristic, as it consists here of a line sloping to the left while in the Gupta alphabets consists of a hook opening to the right. Moreover, the missing of the knot in 'na' is also to be considered.

Bühler⁽⁶⁾ has distinguished two types within the period named, the archaic⁽⁷⁾ and the Kuṣana type, although even he himself admits that the distinction is not always easy because in the Kuṣana time inscriptions dated earlier often show more modern signs whilst later ones show older archaic forms. I have subsequently tried to

determine more accurately the time to which the fragments belong, by a comparison of individual characteristic signs of the fragments with the corresponding signs of the inscriptions. I have confined myself to the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica* as these are ⁽⁸⁾ the only reliable reproductions. I have generally taken only dated inscriptions for comparison.

1. In the fragments 'A' has the same form as in numerous Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kuṣana period for example, I, 382, Nr. 2 (especially B 1, C 1; p. 15); 382, Nr. 3 (p. 19); 395, Nr. 29 (p. 22). An example of the archaic form is present in I, 396, Nr. 33. The forms of the transitory period occur in II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4); Nr. 12 (p. 5) 202, Nr. 14 (p. 18) and so on.

2. The distinguishing feature, a horizontal stroke with a small hook is added to \bar{A} , at the lower end of the vertical line. We find the same in the \bar{A} of the Sāranāth Inscription VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3)⁽⁹⁾ and of the Mathurā Inscription II, 204, Nr. 19 (p. 62). A horizontal stroke in the middle of the letter is added in the archaic type; compare for example, the Mathurā Inscription II, 199, Nr. 2. (Śoḍāsa); 200, Nr. 5. I 396, Nr. 33. But yet in the Mathurā Inscription II, 199, Nr. 4, characterised as archaic by Bühler, the beginning already occurs at the lower end of the vertical line while on the other hand in the Mathurā Inscription II, 203, Nr. 17 of p. 50 the stroke in the middle of the letter is further added. A sign of transition is found in the Mathurā Inscription I, 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60).

3. 'I', is denoted by three horizontal strokes. In the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 385, Nr. 7 (p. 35) and 390 Nr. 18, the design is composed of two horizontal and one vertical strokes ⁽¹⁰⁾. The form appearing in the fragments is likely the older, because the vertical stroke occurs again even in that of I, of Allahābād Prasasti.

4. 'E' steadily shows the point upwards just as the usual form of the Inscriptions; compare the Sāranāth Inscription VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3); the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 383, Nr. 4 (p. 20 ?) 396, Nr. 30 (p. 47); I, 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60); II, 204, Nr. 19 (p. 62) and so on. But sometimes, the left point is a little lifted up in the inscriptions so that the base of the triangle appears to be turned

upwards, as for example in the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 381, Nr. 1 (p. 5), 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7), 387, Nr. 10 (p. 45), 392 Nr. 24 (p. 80).

5. 'ga' shows a border-stroke on the left vertical line. This is missing in the archaic Inscriptions, for examples in the Mathurā Inscriptions, I, 396. Nr. 33, II, 200. Nr. 5, Nr. 6, Nr. 8. Its presence is often difficult to recognise in the Kuṣāna Inscriptions. But sure examples which extend over the whole period occur in the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4), Nr. 12 (p. 5); I, 391, Nr. 20 (p. 22 ?); II, 203. Nr. 18 (p. 52); I, 391, Nr. 21 (p. 54), 388, Nr. 13 (p. 87 ?).

6. 'cha' shows two knots instead of the old circle, divided through, as it appears for example in the very early Mathurā Inscription II, 198, Nr. 1. The knot form is met with in the Sāranāth Inscriptions VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a, 179, Nr. 3^d of page 3, in the Saheth-Maheth Inscription VIII, 181, of the time of Kaniṣka or of Huviṣka, and no doubt, even in the archaic Mathurā Inscription II, 199, Nr. 2 of the time of Śodāsa. But only once in the Mathurā Inscription II, 202, Nr. 13 (p. 18) the old form occurs in the double-type 'ccha'.

7. 'da' shows still clearly the old form of the vertical line twice bent into right angles. The same form occurs in the archaic Mathurā Inscription II, 200, Nr. 8, whereas the Mathurā Inscription I, 381, Nr. 1 (p. 5), the Saheth-Maheth Inscription VIII, 181, of the time of Kaniṣka or Huviṣka and besides even the archaic Mathurā Inscription II, 199, 2. of the time of Śodāsa, show much more simplified forms.

8. Instead of the upward horizontal line, "ḍa" mostly shows a slender curve with a notch in the middle formed in such a way, that at first, half the line is drawn corresponding to the vertical line and then the other half joined to it. Incidentally when both the lines meet exactly, sometimes a rather straight horizontal line follows, as for example in 'gaṇi' in 8^v, 2; 3, "daṇḍam" 8^v, 4 and so on. On the stones both the forms are imitated. Usually, here also the notched line is found; see for example the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4), I, 381, Nr. 1 (p. 5), 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7) 391, Nr. 20 (p. 22 ?); II, 202, Nr. 15 (p. 31) and so on. But

sometimes, even the straight horizontal line is seen. Examples are present in Mathurā Inscriptions II, 202, Nr. 13 (p. 18) ; I, 395, Nr. 28 (p. 20) and so on.

9. "da" has the opening towards right as in the Kuṣana Inscriptions. In the archaic Mathūrā Inscriptions II, 199, Nr. 2. (Śoḍāsa) ; 199. Nr. 4, 201, Nr. 9, 201, Nr. 10. I, 397. Nr. 35, the opening is turned still towards left as in the oldest time.

10. 'ma' shows the angular form, which appears throughout in the Kuṣana Inscriptions. The letter shows only very seldom, rounder forms as in the Mathurā Inscription I, 385, Nr. 7 (p. 35). Essentially, the same form too is already met with in the archaic Inscriptions, see the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 199, and further on ; Nr. 2. Nr. 4-9. Meanwhile, a form identical with the usual form of 'm' in that of the later Gupta Alphabet, e. g. the Allahabad Praśasti," is used in the fragments to draw the "m" without vowel. Examples are 'geham' 4^v, 4 ; 'yam' 13^a, 1 ; "v(i)tavyam' 14^b, 2 ; 'pp(r)ayati-tavyam' 14^b, 2 ; 'gamyatām' 16^a, 2 ; 'ryyam' 26^a, 2 ; 'evam' 46^a, 1 ; 'kaṣṭam' 52^a, 1 ; "(r)utam' 80^b, 1 ; 'k(i)m' 84^a, 1. In 3^v, 1, only in 'siddham', the old form seems to be used even for the 'm' without vowel. As far as I know, in the Inscriptions, the 'm' without vowel occurs only in the word 'siddham', which often appears at the beginning of the inscriptions, and mostly written with the old mark; see the Mathura Inscriptions II, 199, Nr. 3 (Mahākṣatrapa) ; I, 382, Nr. 3 (p. 19) ; 387, Nr. 10 (p. 45) ; 391, Nr. 21 (p. 54) ; 389, Nr. 14 ; II, 206, Nr. 27. The later sign is used⁽¹²⁾ in I, 386, Nr. 8 of p. 60. But that, it was already in use in much earlier time is shown in the Mathūrā Inscription VIII, 182 of p. 33 ; where surely in 'mātāpitihi', and probably also in 'Buddhamitrāye' and 'Mādhuravaṇake', the later form appears no doubt even for the 'ma' with vowel ; while in 'mahārajasya', the old form still appears. Our fragments therefore appear to represent the condition as it existed in the first decades of the Kuṣana era. The old angular letters were written for the 'm' with vowel, and an italic letter for the 'm' without vowel, except in 'maṅgala siddham' ; for which there had been even some peculiar forms as is known from the Mathurā Inscriptions. By and by, the Italics were then used even for 'ma' and in 'siddham'.

11. 'ya' shows a knot to the left. The same form occurs in the

Kuṣāna Inscriptions, see the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4); I, 381, Nr. 1 (p. 5); 382, Nr. 2 (p. 15); II, 202, Nr. 14 (p. 18); I, 382, Nr. 3 (p. 19); 383, Nr. 4 (p. 20 ?); 395, Nr. 28 (p. 20); 395, Nr. 29 (p. 22); II, 202, Nr. 15 (p. 31); I, 391, Nr. 21 (p. 54); 388, Nr. 12 (p. 86); 392, Nr. 22 (p. 95) and so on. Besides, during the whole period, a form occurs, in which the left curve is indeed strongly bent, but yet does not make a completely closed knot, see the Sarnāth Inscriptions VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3); 179, Nr. 3^d (p. 3); and the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7); 384, Nr. 5 (p. 25); 385, Nr. 6 (p. 29); II, 203, Nr. 16 (p. 32); I, 385, Nr. 7 (p. 35); II, 203, Nr. 17 (p. 50); Nr. 18 (p. 52); I 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60); II, 204, Nr. 19 (p. 62); Nr. 20 (p. 79) and so on. The archaic type always shows only a faint curve; see the Mathurā Inscriptions I. 396 Nr. 33; II, 199, Nr. 2 (Śoḍāsa); Nr. 4, 200, Nr. 5. The complete form for the subscript 'ya', is no more used in the fragments. The subscript 'ya', rather shows always the known italic form made with a single stroke of pen. But the middle vertical line repeatedly comes further in contact with the ground line so that the origin of the form is still clearly distinguished; see for example, 'yasya', 'anitya(m)', IV, 1, 'yasya' 1^V, 4; see vyākaraṇasya 8^V, 2 °mithunasya' 10^a, 3, °tir-yyasa' 13^a 2 and so on. The complete form parted thrice, further occurs in the archaic Inscriptions also for the subscript 'ya'; see e. g. the Mathurā Inscription II, 200, Nr. 7. The complete form further appears also in some of the oldest Kuṣāna Inscriptions, as in the Sarnāth Inscriptions VIII, 176, 3^a, 179, 3^d of p. 3. in the Inscription, of unknown origin IX, 240, of p. 10, in the Saheṭh:Maheṭh Inscription VIII, 181, of the time of Kaniṣka or of Huviṣka. But the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kuṣāna time shows almost generally the later form and mostly in much more italics than our fragments, see. e. g. II, 201, Nr. 11. (p. 4); Nr. 12. (p. 5); I, 381, Nr. 1, (p. 5), 391, Nr. 19, (p. 7), 381, Nr. 2 (p. 15); and so on. The older forms are found here, quite sporadic and mostly with the later one: see, VIII, 182 of p. 33, where the old complete form appears in 'bhikṣusya' 'balasya', the italic in 'devaputrasya Huviskaṣya' and 'trepiṭakasya' and a middle form in Mahārajasya'; in II, 206, Nr. 26 of the time of Huviṣka, where the old form in 'ma(hā)r(āja)sya and Nagadatasya,' the italic form in 'devaputrasya(H)-ukṣasya is used; I, 392, Nr. 22 of p.(95 ?), with the old 'ya' in 'arya';

II, 207, Nr. 29, with the old form in 'ganisya', the italics in *Parāsvasya*'.

12. In case of 'va' the two sloping lines meet together sometimes not in serif but intersect before \tilde{h} and so that the letter becomes similar to 'ma' ; see e. g. 'evaṇ-gate' 1^v, 3, 'iva' 1^v, 4, "varṇṇenā" 14^a, 3 ; 'yeva' 27^b, 1 ; 'yathāva' 48^a, 2 ; anivāryam' 64^b, I, and so on. The stone-carvers have repeatedly reproduced this peculiarity, see. e. g. the Mathurā-Inscriptions of the Kuṣana time II-206, Nr. 25 (Huviṣkasya), 207, Nr. 29, (vācako), Nr. 32 (vadhuye) ; 208, Nr. 33 (Vajara-nadyasya) 208, Nr. 34 (Sarvva°) : the Kāman Inscription II, 212, Nr. 42 (p. 74 ; °vihāre) and especially the archaic Mathurā Inscription II, 200, Nr. 5 (Śivayaśa°).

13. In the fragments, 'śa' has a middle line sloped from left to right, which does not touch the vertical line standing opposite. The same middle line occurs in the archaic Mathurā Inscriptions, for example, I, 396, Nr. 33 ; II, 200, Nr. 5 ; 199 Nr. 2 (Śoḍāsa) and sometimes also in the Kuṣana Inscriptions, see the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7), 385, Nr. 6⁽¹³⁾ (p. 29) ; II, 204, Nr. 20 (p. 49) ; 205, Nr. 22 (p. 90), and the Kāman Inscription II ; 212, Nr. 42 (p. 74). But mostly in the Kuṣana time, the middle line was drawn through, up to the right vertical line and usually runs into a perfect horizontal line as in the later Gupta Alphabets. Examples for the sloping line are the Mathurā Inscription I, 384, Nr. 5 (p. 25), 388, Nr. 12 (p. 86), for the horizontal line the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11, (p. 4), Nr. 12 (p. 5) ; I, 382, Nr. 2 (p. 15) ; 382 f. Nr. 3 (p. 19) ; 395, Nr. 28 (p. 20) ; II, 202, Nr. 15 (p. 31) ; I, 385 Nr. 7 (p. 33) ; II, 203, Nr. 18 (p. 52) ; I, 391, Nr. 21 (p. 54) ; II, 204, Nr. 21 (p. 81) and so on. In the script of the fragments the left vertical line of 'śa' has a defined stroke. The same is true as noticed above of the corresponding definite stroke of 'ga'. It is missing in the archaic Inscriptions of Mathurā e. g. I, 396, Nr. 33 ; II, 200, Nr. 5 ; but 199, Nr. 2 (Śoḍāsa) has surely been extant in the Kuṣana time ; as the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4) ; 203, Nr. 18, (p. 52), I, 391, Nr. 21, (p. 54) ; 388, Nr. 13 (p. 87 ?).

14. In the 'śa' of the fragments, the transverse line does not touch the right vertical line. The same form occurs in the archaic Inscriptions, e. g. in the Mathurā Inscriptions, II, 199, Nr. 4 ; Nr. 2

(Sodāsa) and more often also in the Kuṣana time ; see. e. g. the Sārnāth Inscriptions VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3), 179, Nr. 3^d (p. 3) the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7) ; II, 206, Nr. 25 (Huviṣka) ; 203, Nr. 17 (p. 50) ; 204 Nr. 19 (p. 62) the Kāman Inscription II, 212 Nr. 42 (p. 74) ; the Inscriptions of the unknown origin IX, 240 (p. 10). But more often in the Kuṣana time, the transverse line is drawn through up to the vertical line, either horizontal or with an incline from left to right as in the later Alphabets. Examples of the first is found in the Mathurā Inscriptions, II, 202, Nr. 14 (p. 18) ; VIII, 182 (p. 33) ; II, 203, Nr. 18 (p. 52) ; I, 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60) ; II, 205, Nr. 24 (p. 98) ; for the second, the Mathurā Inscriptions, I, 384, Nr. 5 (p. 25) ; 388, Nr. 13 (p. 87 ?) ; II, 205, Nr. 23 (p. 93).

15. In the fragments 'sa' generally shows a knot instead of a hook but in the double-type 'tsa' and in union with 'o', the hook—form is nearly always used without proper evidence of a reason, see., 'pat-sandhya', 1^R, 2 ; 'satsanni' 14^b, 2 ; 'tat-su(kh)', 17^a, 1 ; 'matsari', 17^b 2, ; 'bhavet-sarvve' 18^a, 2 ; 'sorṇṇa' 1^R, 3 ; 'manaso' 4^R, 1 ; 20^b, 3 ; 'ahimsro' 18^a, 2 ; 'sottiya' 30^b, 2 ; '(na)so' 36^a, 3, all forms of 'Soma-datta' 9^b, 2 ; 13^a, 3 ; 16^a, 3 ; 19^a, 1 ; 25^b, 2 ; 30^b, 2. Exceptions are rare ; I have noted 'sovaccala', 8^R, 2 ; 'upadeso', 14^a, 2 ; 'manaso' 26^b, 1, and 'srotaso' 23^b, 2 ; where the second 'sa' shows the knot form. In the archaic Inscriptions, the hook—form is of course the rule as in that of the Kuṣana time. But in the Kuṣana Inscriptions of Mathurā the knot—form occurs here and there and then almost always together with the hook—form. In the Inscription II, 209 f, Nr. 37, which must have originated⁽¹⁴⁾ in the beginning of the Kuṣana era, the knot—form occurs nine times, (in 'siddha' 'Jeṣṭhastisya', 'tasya', 'Varaṇahashtisya' 'Jayadevasya', 'Kuṭhasya', 'Kasuthasya', 'Sthirae') the hook—form eight times (in 'Bamhādāsiato', 'sambhokato', 'Jeṣṭhastisya', 'ttasya', 'Kasuthasya', 'sarvrasatvana', 'sukhaye'). In I, 384, Nr. 5 (p. 25) the knot—form occurs nine times in ('savatsare', 'mase', 'asmi', 'Brahmadāsikato', 'Balatratasya', 'Sadhisya' 'Jabhakasya'), the hook-form probably twice (in 'Nādisya' 'Vusuya')¹⁵ ; in two cases ('divase' 'Jayabhaṭṭasya') the letter is indistinct. In VIII, 182 (p. 33) the knot—form occurs thrice in ('mahārajasya', 'devaputrasya', 'saṃ'), the hook—form seven times (in 'Huviṣkasya', 'bhikṣusya' 'Balasya', 'trepiṭakasya', 'antevāsiniye', 'bodhisatvo', 'sahā'). In II,

205, Nr. 23 (p. 93), the knot—form appears once (in mahāvīrasya),, the hook—form five times (in 'saṁ', 'śiṣyasya', 'gaṇīsyā', 'devasya' 'hairaṇyakasya'). In II, 208, Nr. 33, the only 'sa' that occurs, shows the knot—form in (Vajaranadyasya).

16. The 'ha' of the fragments show a horizontal line at the right end which is sometimes slightly curved. The same form is found during the whole period, see, e.g. the archaic Mathurā Inscription I, 396, Nr. 33 ; II, 200, Nr. 5 ; Nr. 7 ; Nr. 8 ; 201, Nr. 9 ; 199, Nr. 2 (śodāsa), and in the Kuṣana time, the Sārnāth Inscriptions VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3) ; 179, Nr. 3^d, (p. 3), the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 381, Nr. 1 (p. 5) ; 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7) ; 382, Nr. 2 (p. 15) ; 395, Nr. 29 (p. 22) ; 385, Nr. 6 (p. 29) ; 387, Nr. 9 (p. 44) ; 396, Nr. 30 (p. 47) ; 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60) ; 392, Nr. 24 (p. 80) ; II, 205, Nr. 24 (p. 98), the Kāman Inscription II, 212, Nr. 42 (p. 74). But, at the same time, a more developed form occurs in the Kuṣana time in which, the horizontal line is extended downwards, often down to the ground line, see e. g. the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 11 (p. 4) ; I, 384, Nr. 5 (p. 25) ; II, 209, Nr. 36 (p. 50 ?) ; 203, Nr. 18 (p. 52) ; 204, Nr. 21 (p. 81).

17. I should like to draw special attention to the 'ī' of the middle vowels. In the fragments, it usually consists more or less of two straight strokes¹⁶, but a curve turned towards the left is found instead of the right stroke in 'Kīrt(t)ih' 1^V, 3 ; 'lavaḥi' 8^R, 2 ; 'dānīm' 36^a, 2. The first form is also usual in the Inscriptions of the Kuṣana time, see, the Mathurā Inscriptions, I, 383, Nr. 4 (p. 20 ?), II, 203, Nr. 16 (p. 32), VIII, 182 (p. 33), II, 203, Nr. 18 (p. 52), I, 391, Nr. 21 (p. 54), 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60) and so on. The second form is in 'śiṣīnināṁ' in I, 382, Nr. 2 (p. 15). Clear examples of the archaic form which is more akin to the first, occurs in the Mathurā Inscriptions II, 201, Nr. 9, Nr. 10.

18. The 'Anusvāra' is drawn in the fragments by a small horizontal stroke. The archaic Inscriptions of Mathurā, e. g. II, 199, Nr. 4 ; 200, Nr. 5, show also the point instead of the stroke. In the inscriptions of the Kuṣana time, it is often impossible to decide after the phototype whether there is a stroke or a point. But definite examples of the stroke occur e. g. in the Sārnāth Inscription

VIII, 176, Nr. 3^a (p. 3) and the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 391, Nr. 19 (p. 7) ; 382, Nr. 2 (p. 15) ; 395, Nr. 29 (p. 22) ; 385, Nr. 7 (p. 35) ; II, 204, Nr. 20 (p. 49) ; 203, Nr. 18 (p. 52) ; I, 392, Nr. 22 (p. 95 ?) and so on.

19. In place of the usual 'anusvāra', a letter which is composed of two small hooks touching together at the right end and therefore nearly resembling the letter 'ai' at first sight, is found three times. I see therein the mark of the 'anunāsika' and therefore read, 'vadamsam' in 8^b, 2, 'katham vi' in 10^b, 3 ; 'samhṛta' in 10^b, 4. In the Inscriptions, the anunāsika is not hitherto proved.

20. The mark of 'visarga' exists in the fragments in two small horizontal strokes. In the Inscriptions, the 'visarga' is rare. In the Mathurā Inscriptions I, 386, Nr. 8, (p. 60) and 393, Nr. 26 (Kuṣāna time), it is marked by two distinct strokes, while in I, 382, Nr. 3, it seems to be expressed by two points.

21. In the fragments in 41^a, 1, and 51^b, 2, the mark of the 'upadhmāniya' is twice found, which hitherto, we first knew in the Inscription of the fourth century.

22. A horizontal stroke is used as punctuation mark which repeatedly occurs in the Inscriptions of the Kuṣāna time, see the Mathurā Inscriptions, II, 202, Nr. 13 (p. 18) ; I, 395, Nr. 28 (p. 20) ; 385, Nr. 6 (p. 29) ; II, 203, Nr. 16 (p. 32) ; Nr. 18 (p. 52) ; I, 386, Nr. 8 (p. 60),—the Kāman Inscription II, 212, Nr. 42 (p. 74). The punctuation mark, however, regularly occurs only after the statement of the speaking person, at the conclusion of a person's speech, and besides, usually at the conclusion of the prose within the speech when prose and verse alternate, but see, e. g. 1^v, 4 ; 1^r, 3 ; 8^r, 3 ; 47^b, 3, 4^v, 4, 27^a, 4 ; 20^b, 3. The end of the sentence in the prose and the end of a pāda or the first half—line in verses are not characterised by the stroke but only indicated by a small intermediate space. Also, in this way, single words and group of words are often separated. As is hitherto known, this mode of writing occurs in some inscriptions of Aśoka ; the archaic Mathurā Inscriptions II, 199, Nr. 2, (Śodāsa), 207, Nr. 30, are examples of the period considered here. Circular figures serve to mark the conclusion of a bigger paragraph in 13^b, 3, and 45^a, 3.

Unfortunately in 3, after 'siddham' a strongly-defaced letter occurs, which seems to be composed of two perpendicular lines placed side by side and of one horizontal line joined to the left. It reminds of the peculiar mark which is used in some of the northern Inscriptions of the Kuṣāna time after the word 'siddham'. In the Mathurā Inscription I, 387, Nr. 9, and in the Kāman Inscription II, 212, Nr. 42, it is composed of a semi-circle opened towards left with a bar in the middle. Bühler¹⁷ took it as a punctuation mark; I consider it as probable that we may have to see therein a Mangala mark¹⁸ (auspicious sign). It follows with certainty by the comparison of the single letters, that the manuscript to which our fragments belong, is written in the time of Kuṣānas. If we consider, that manuscripts generally tend to show more developed forms than the contemporary Inscriptions, but as in the fragments, only the old forms appear in a series of cases, so we will have to transfer the time of origin of the manuscripts rather to the time of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka than to that of Vāsudeva. Now, as is well-known, opinions over Kaṇiṣka's time of reign are still very much divided. This is not the place to investigate the accuracy of ten or twelve theories hitherto stated. The knowledge that Fleet and O'Franke²⁰ had reached independently in quite different ways, is that both the Kadphises belong not before but after Kaṇiṣka; personally it appears to me that the opinion which was spoken firstly by Cunningham and emphatically defended after him by Fleet is highly probable that Kaṇiṣka was the founder of the so-called Mālava or Vikrama era. Therefore, our fragments must have originated at a time about the beginning of the Christian era. He who places Kaṇiṣka in the first century after Christ or as V. A. Smith does, in the middle of the second century will also have to place accordingly the time of origin of the fragment. But in any case *they are the oldest manuscript-remains which are on the whole preserved out of India.*

The later fate of the Manuscript.

But now we can establish further ¹more, the later fate of the Manuscript. It must have been certainly much utilised in old time. It follows thereby that at several places the margin is so much worn out that the alphabets of the outermost line are thereby mutilated

or are wholly destroyed. The script is rubbed off at numerous other places. In most cases the lost letters are completed by a later hand and the indistinct ones later drawn after. Where the script was strongly effaced the restorer did not take the trouble to draw exactly after the old lines but simply wrote the letter he was familiar with. He often modernised even single well-preserved letters. Probably he even renewed a whole page which somehow had got lost. In any case fragment 116 which, according to its content, must have belonged to the manuscript, is entirely written in the later script. But the activity of the restorer has gone even further. He has also revised the text, made corrections and frequently inserted completed words. The words are mostly written between the lines and a punctuated line, (e. g. 10^b, 1 ; 14^b, 1 ; 21^a, 1 ; 21^b, 2 ; 24^b, 2 ; 26^b, 1 ; 27^b, 29^a, 2 ; 33^b, 2 ; 34^b, 3 ; 39^b, 1 ; 43^a, 1), or even two strokes (21^b, 3) indicate where they are to be inserted. The additions and alterations of the reviser are best seen when the pages are obliquely held against the light. While the original script disappears before the eye all later writings clearly come out, obviously because the ink used by the later writer was of different composition from the original. I have individually stated in the remarks to the text, the alterations made by later writer. Every small stroke that originates from him was certainly neither possible nor necessary to mark as such.

The script of the reviser is considerably different from that of the original writer. The most important distinctions are the following :—

1. While, in case of 'a' of the original script the ends of the two curves run together in one line, the curves of the later 'a' meet together at first in the right vertical line. Examples are 'adha' 17^b, 4 ; and the letters traced after in 'añ(ñ)am' 32^a, 2 ; 'a' 37^b, 1 ; 'avasthitā' 53^b, 3. The characteristic is, how the reviser has altered the distinctly clear 'a' of 'apuru' in 15^b, 2.

2. In the later script 'i' is no more used by three strokes but by three small semi-circles, opened downwards or towards right ; see 'iha' 17^a, 4 ; 21^b, 2 ; 'ittha(m)' 90^b, 1.

3. The later 'u' shows instead of a straight base-line, a curve bent towards left. The original form has been repeatedly altered

in this way, e. g. in 'upadeso' 14^a, 2; 'ummāṁsena' 27^b, 4; 'u' 52^a, 2; 'uttarā' 52^b, 1; 'u(p)(a)' 64^a, 1.

4. In case of the later 'ka', the right end of the transverse line is drawn to a curve, see e. g. 'keḍamānaṁ' 33^b, 2; and the traced 'ka' in 'kaṇṭhe' 37^b, 2.

5. The lower part of the later 'kha' is not triangular but round and the upper hook is deeply drawn down, see, 'khu' 29^a, 2. The reviser has often extended the hook of the original letters, e. g. in 'mukha', 32^a, 2; 'sukhārtthaṁ' 35^a, 3; 'sukhā' 101^a, 2.

6. The later 'ña' shows much more rounded forms. As for example, the upper 'ña' of 'añ(ñ)am' in 32^a, which is drawn after may be compared with the old form in 'Dhānañjaya' in 30^a, 1.

7. The later 'ḍa' shows a point upwards instead of the left right angles, see 'keḍamānaṁ' 33^b, 2.

8. The later 'ma' has a form which constitutes the transition from the Kuṣana to the Gupta form. It is to a certain extent, the old 'm' pressed from the left, whose lower part is atrophied, but the left upper transversal line meets further the vertical line lying opposite while it meets the base line in the Gupta letters. Examples are 'dharma' 4^v, 1; 'bhūtaṁ' 17^b, 2; '(gṛ)ham=iva' 21^b, 3; 'keḍamānaṁ' 33^b, 2; 'bhamati' 52^b, 2, and a series of words which contain a traced 'ma' as 'maha' 8^v, 3, '(ṇa)m=pu', 29^a, 4; 'myāh' 41^a, 1; 'smin', 41^a, 1; '(aha)m=bha' 51^b, 1; 'karmaṇoḥ' 89^b, 1; 'dharmmo' 108^b, 1; 'śrama' 109^b, 2.

9. The later 'ya' shows an angle opened downwards instead of the middle line, and a slanting line going upwards instead of the right part of the base-line together with the vertical line placed thereon, so that the complete letter resembles an italic 'N' with a circle to the left, see '(y)(a)sy(a)' 1^v, 1; 'yaṁ' 8^a, 3; 'niyata' 17^a, 4; 'ni(v)asiya' 27^b, 1; and the traced 'ya' in 'suṇiya' 29^a, 4; 'śreya' 90^b, 1; 'yana' 108^b, 2; 'niś(ca)yaḥ' 112^b, 2. Sometimes, the reviser has more correctly kept to the original lines but changed the straight middle line into a hook, e. g. in 'yava' 20^b, 1.

The later subscript 'ya' is considerably more in italics than the original one, see e. g. 'boddhavya(ṁ)' 1^v, 1, '(y)(a)sy(a)' 1^v, 1; 'ddhya'

54^a, 2, and the traced 'ya' in 'vasyātma' 1^R, 4; 'j(ñ)ānasya' 1^R, 4; 'kasya n=otpada(t)(e)' 50^b, 2.

10. The later 'sa' has a horizontal cross-line which is fully drawn, see 'sudeśah' 24^b, 2; 'deśa' 34^b, 3.

11. Even in case of the later 'śa' the transverse line is fully drawn and now horizontal as in 'śu' 21^a, 1, and now bent towards right as in 'prav(i) śṭah' 51^b, 1; 'eśa duṣkaro' 90^b, 2, or in the traced 'śa' of 'uṣṇe' 15^a, 1.

12. The later 'sa' does not show the knot but a hook. Examples are 'sahī', 13^a, 2; 'sudeśah' 24^b, 2; 'vasiya' 27^b, 1; see also the traced 'sa' in 'vān=sukhā', 35^a, 3.

13. The later 'ha' differs from the earlier one owing to the remodelling of the small horizontal strokes in a curve running downwards, see 'hi' 1^v, 3; 'iha hi' 21^b, 2; '(gr) ham' 21^b, 3; 'hasantī' 53^b, 2; and the traced 'ha' in 'iha' 27^a, 4; 'gehe' 41^a, 4. In many cases the reviser was content at the same time to attach a hook to the original 'ha' e. g. in 'gnir=hi' 15^a, 1; 'hi' 21^b, 1; 'mohā', 64^b, 2; 'hāye' 88^b, 2.

14. In the same way, the reviser changed even the mark of the middle 'ā' in 'jā', through the joining of a hook turned towards right, see 'jāla', 1^R, 3; 'jñānasya' 1^R, 4.

15. While the mark of the middle 'i' in the original script, sometimes differs a little from 'e', it shows in the later script a strong curve; see, e. g. 'vidita' 5^R, 2; 'kim=iha' 5^R, 3; 'niyata' 17^a, 4. In many cases, the reviser intensified the curve of the original letter, e. g. in 'punar=idā' 1^R, 1; 'viharati ni' 1^R, 4; 'pari', 7^v, 4; 'hi k(r)ima(y)' 18^a, 2; 'kim' 32^b, 2; 'ja(ni)' 35^b, 1; 'tati' 49^a, 2; 'hi' 108^a, 1, and so on.

16. The later mark of the middle 'ī' consists of a curve towards right and of a vertical line over the 'māṭṛkā', see, 'hasantī' 53^b, 2. Many a time, the reviser has transformed the original mark through the joining of a hook to the left vertical line, see 'nam=i(ra)' 2^a, 1; 'sakkhi' 8^v, 4; 'pri' 33^a, 2; 'atthi' 35^a, 1; '(p)(r)a(t)ig(r)hita' 51^b, 2; '(k)l(tau)' 54^a, 3; 'āsannī' 54^b, 3; 'kosiki' 60^b, 2; 'grhita' 65^b, 3; 'bhoti' 91^b, 2.

17. The middle 'u' is marked in 'ku' 'ru' and 'tu' in the original script by a short horizontal stroke which is only curved a little. In 'yavā(ū)kura°' 20^b, 1; 'kuppita°' 29^a, 4, 'gokula°' 72^b, 2; the reviser has altered this to a hook bent towards left but in 'apuru°' 15^b, 2; 'puru°', 65^b, 4, joined a peculiar hook so that the 'ru' looks as the later 'ru' whose example is in 'rupeṇa' 43^a, 1. On the other hand, in 'tu' 8^v, 3; 'tuvam' 8^v, 4; 'avaptu°' 14^b, 2; 'āturebhyo' 15^a, 2; he changed the 'u' mark with the addition of a vertical stroke directed upwards.

18. In the original script, the mark of the middle 'ṛ' is a straight line running from right to left, in the later script a curve opens towards right, see 'pṛthivya°' 50^b, 2; 'vṛto' 108^b, 1. The reviser transformed the straight line into the curve in 'sṛtena' 10^b, 1; 'kṛta' 89^b, 1.

19. In the later script, the middle 'e' is expressed sometimes through a perpendicular line see 'dain(y)ena' 35^b, 3; 'ntena' 53^b, 1; 'se', 74^a, 2; 'śreya' 90^b, 1.

20. Many a time, the reviser has also traced the original mark of the 'anusvara', and then out of the stroke often made a hook opened towards right or downwards. Examples are 'alab(bhy)am' 14^b, 3; 'vanam' 17^a, 2; 'dravyam', 17^b, 2; 'nām' 17^b, 3; 'kilānām' 17^b, 3; 'himsā' 17^b, 4; 'ahimsro' 18^a, 2; 'bhayam' 21^a, 2; 'sukhārttham' 35^a, 3; and so on.

21. In the later script, the partiality for the hook instead of the stroke is also shown through the mark for 'visarga' which consists of two distinct hooks, e. g., in 'praviṣṭaḥ' 51^b, 1.

If the current script of the reviser is compared to that of the Gupta period in the usual North Indian epigraphic scripts, some individual letters will be found again in more or less similar form but others such as 'ka', 'ma' and 'ya' will never be seen in the inscriptions. *"In my opinion, this shows that the alphabet of the reviser is not at all Indian but Central Asian."* Two other points are still to be quoted. The Berlin collection holds numerous fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan, showing the same forms. But all these manuscripts are written on paper and thus disclose through the material that they originate in Central Asia and not imported from India. Again, secondly, just

those letters that are not to be authenticated in India are distinctly the original forms, from which the letters of the later so-called Central Asian Brahmi-script had their origin. In the alphabet of the reviser the right bar of 'ka' is stretched to a curve while in North India, quite to the contrary the left one developing into a curve and further on into the circle shows the modern Nāgarī form. In the later Central Asian Brāhmī script, the curve is even clearly discernible towards the right side. In the same way the later 'ma' with a horizontal line on the base and the later 'ya' are easily explained out of the forms of the reviser's alphabets. Further, to this, the marks of 'I', of 'Visarga', of 'Anusvāra' and the upright mark of the middle 'e' consisting of hooks, all of which appear in the later script similarly, but only, the hooks of the 'Anusvara' even separated in the reviser's alphabet, are later always drawn nearer. Accordingly, I hold it without doubt that *the revival and improvement of the manuscript took place in Turfan*. As our knowledge of the older Central Asian script is still in the early beginning, it can hardly be determined when this came to pass. The 'ma' may be derived just out of the ordinary Kuṣana form. Likewise, the 'sa' with the hook, points to the Kuṣana time. That the hook generally adheres longer in the west Gupta alphabet is surely to be noticed, as on the other hand the knot form incidentally appears already in the Kuṣana time as seen above. The 'u' and the middle 'ṛ' agree with the later Gupta letter. Therefore we may place the origin of the Central Asian alphabet well on the end of the Kuṣana time. But, for the time being, we refrain from our criticism as to how long it took before the script attained our present Central Asian character. On the whole, the question may be considered only after the examination of a greater number of those old Central Asian manuscripts.

The uniformity of the fragments.

Before we turn to the text itself, we have to put before us the question whether all these fragments belong to one and the same manuscript or originate from different ones. Because, owing to the small sizes of many fragments, the coherence cannot often be found to come to an absolute sure decision. But it must be held as probable, that fragments 1 and 2 which undoubtedly belong to one and the

same page originate out of another manuscript distinct from the others. The script of this page is no doubt the same as in the other fragments, but it is somewhat more concise. The page further distinguishes itself from all others by the darker colouring which of course might have arisen, later on, through the influence of moisture. Thirdly, as shown above, the page is 12-13 cm. shorter than the others or at least than the pages to which fragments 27, 65 and 4 belonged. I can only later refer to the peculiarities which may appear in the text. Opposed to it however, the fact is that the page has been corrected and traced where necessary by the same later hand as the other fragments. It seems therefore, that the manuscript from which the page originates was already allied in old time with the manuscript from which the other fragments originate. Another reason also speaks for a collective manuscript. It follows with perfect certainty, from the text of the front page of Fragment 3, that the work begins here. The number carried on the page is unfortunately crumbled down, to a remnant consisting of a line running slant from left to right and therefore in no case can the number be an 'one'. Also the high page numbers of the fragments 4—6, favour the assumption of a collective script. The possibility that fragments 3—118 also belong to different works cannot therefore be denied. But practically it is not possible to make any distinction, at least for the time being and subsequently the fragments 3—118 were everywhere treated as if belonging to an uniform whole.

The First Drama.

The worth that our fragments already have in themselves as the oldest remains of the Indian manuscripts will still increase by their content :—*Here are fragments of dramas which are older than all that is preserved to us in dramatic Arts in India.* The page to which fragments 1 and 2 belong, and as noticed above, which probably belongs to another work as the remaining fragments, admits of no doubt in spite of some obscurities in details over the general content. It contains a scene in which three allegorical figures 'Buddhi' the wisdom, 'Dhṛti'—the constancy, and 'Kīrti'—Glory appear speaking to one another. The fragment begins in the midst of the speech of 'Buddhi'—"I have nothing to do with this one" so we must perhaps complete—"to whom nothing exists

that might have to be abandoned, although the passions (kleśa) again bring about the existence, to whom nothing exists that would be worthy of cognition either constant or inconstant. Then she continues:—"I—the wisdom—am pleased with him who is quite devoted to the 'tranquility' who has destroyed the darkness (tamas) by his rays....whose passion (rajas) has vanished,....who has gained the highest immortality—the truth difficult to obtain." How these words are to be understood, follow from the joint utterance of 'Dhṛti', "(of-course, it is so. The light which carries the name 'human-being' has obviously grown) (embraced by my power). With this human-being, called 'light' is surely meant 'Budha', "the 'Dharma' in the form of human-being" as he is called later on, the man, who reached the enlightenment by constancy, and therefore we are to understand him also as the conqueror of darkness and of passion, and who has reached immortality. Then follows a gap. Then, first of all, the conversation turns round the mutual relation of wisdom, constancy and glory. Either 'Buddhi' or 'Dhṛti' says, "This is a pair standing in a mutual relation of dependence. Because, where wisdom is, constancy holds foot, and where constancy is established wisdom spreads. Kīrti—continues the speech further, "If that is the case, so it is for you..... In any case she claims a place for herself as third in the alliance". Then 'Buddhi' continues, "So it is". And it is also said, "He who has no wisdom resembles a constant slumberer, he who is bereft of constancy resembles a habitual drunkard; to one....., he who has no glory,....whose glory lasts". Then the conversation turns again to Buddha. Then Kīrti asks, "Then, where does this Dharma now dwell in human form? Buddhi replies, "As his supernatural power 'ṛddhi' is unlimited, one should rather ask, "where does he not dwell?" and then indulges in a description of the eight ṛddhis of Buddha. "He roams in the air like a bird ⁽²⁴⁾, he strides....without being caught, he permeates into the earth like water,⁽²⁵⁾ he multiplies his form, he lets pour a stream of water from the sky and at the same time shines as a cloud in the evening glow, when it' pleases him he strides to....the mountains and in the right way he exercises 'Dharma'."⁽²⁶⁾ At this Dhṛti proposes to join him. Then all of us together will truly make him our nesting⁽²⁷⁾ tree. Because the great saint is just now staying in the park of the capital of Magadha the brows furnished

with "ūṛṇā", hands and feet with fine soft web,...with a mind restrained, without desire, content, full of wisdom and with a mood of tranquility". There the conversation closes, and now the Divine (Bhagavat) appears Himself surrounded by a beaming halo.

The content of the fragment makes it doubtless that it belongs to a special Buddhistic drama. The only Buddhistic drama obtained by us in original is the Nāgānanda of Śrīharṣa.⁽²⁸⁾ But already in much earlier times, Buddhism had given up its original harsh declining attitude in face of the theatre, and even utilised the stage straight-away for the purpose of propaganda of its doctrine. This was known to us out of a Buddhistic story which Lèvi pointed out in 'Théâtre Indien' page 319 following. In Avadānaśataka,⁽²⁹⁾ which must⁽³⁰⁾ have been translated into Chinese about the middle of the 3rd century after Christ and had its origin a century or two earlier, there is a reference, how a company of actors from Deccan performs a "Bauddha nāṭaka", before the king of Śobhāvati by the invitation of Buddha Krakucchanda, in which the director of the stage appears⁽³¹⁾ dressed in the costume of Buddha, the other actors as Bhikṣus. Besides this, a story comes from Kaḥgyur⁽³²⁾, which Lèvi already cited at the same place. An actor from South, works up into a drama, the narration of Buddha, tells his enlightenment after the "Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra and performs this at a festival that King Bimbisāra arranged in honour of two Nāgrājas, he knew he could thereby still elevate the faith in the mass of believers. But at the same time, he performs a farce composed by himself in which two of the Bhikṣus are mocked at as dainty persons in order to avenge on the six Bhikṣus who had been unobliging to him. Thereupon, the monks embittered by it, resolved to compete with him and acted a Drama which was composed by the twelve Bhikṣuṇīs and in which the life of Bodhisattva Kuru was the object. Our fragment furnishes the confirmation of these statements about the character of the old Buddhistic dramas. It shows us especially, that there was no real scruple in allowing Buddha to appear on the stage in person.

The Second Drama.

In some references the following fragments are still more interesting. Of course, a statement of the contents is not possible here. I did not also succeed in finding out the subject dramatically adapted

here. Therefore, I give at first, a list of the persons who appeared in the hope that others will succeed in determining the subject later on. Following persons are mentioned :—

1. 'Nāya' in 4, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 27, 29, 51, 52, 59. Also 'ya' in 29 and 'nā' in 110 is surely to be completed to 'nāya'. The stage-directions 'nāyakaḥ smayati' in 4, 'praviṣati nāyako' in 9, 'p(r)aviṣati nāya....' in 85, leave no doubt about the fact that 'nāya' = nāyakaḥ is the hero. Probably his name was Somadattā. This name is often mentioned in the text—(9, 13, 16, 19, 25, 30), but never in the statements of persons appearing.

2. 'Dhānaṁ' in 8, 10, 13, 29. 'ānaṁ' in 70, 'naṁ' in 16, 25, 72, are also to be completed to 'Dhānaṁ'. 'Dhānaṁ' is 'Dhānaṁjayaḥ'. Thus the name stands complete in the conversation between him and 'vidūṣaka' in 13 and in 30. At the last place, apparently it is spoken of 'Dhānañjaya' that after lying without breath for a time, now he breathes again heavily. Later on, it is said, in the same fragment that the prince (bhaṭṭidāśaka) had regained his health after taking a certain remedy. It is highly probable, when both the statements are compared, that 'Dhānañjaya' is the prince. Also his name and circumstance conclude his princely rank because in 30 the conversation is about the grace (pasāda) ? of 'Dhānañjaya' and in 8 he appears obviously as a judge. In any case, with regard to the speech, he belonged to the higher ranks.

3. 'Duṣṭa' in 4, 22, 37, 66. Likewise in 45, where only, a 'ṣ' is seen, in 88 where only 'ṣṭ', in 94 where 'd. ṣ..' and 'duṣ'...., in 96 where 'ṣṭa' is preserved, the complete form is surely 'duṣṭa'. 'duṣṭa' stands naturally for 'duṣṭah' "the villain". According to the speech he belongs to one of the inferior ranks.

4. 'Vidū' in 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, 21, 22, 29, 30, 34, 36, 45, 52, 61, 67, 82, 84. 'Vidū' is further restored out of 'vi' in 14, 'vid' in 60 and 66, 'dū' in 69, and 'd' in 88. 'Vidū' is the abbreviation of 'vidūṣakaḥ'. In 4, the villain calls the attention of a person whom he addresses as "Komudagandha" to one or more apes, and 'vidūṣaka' answers him. Therefore, 'Komudagandha'—Sanskrit. 'Kaumudagandha'—was obviously the name of 'vidūṣaka'.

5. 'Buddhaḥ' in 64, and according to which B. d. a. in b3, is to be restored as 'Buddha'. In 116, there is 'Buddha', whether 'Siddhar-

tho' in 93 also refers to Buddha is not possible to decide owing to lack of coherence.

6. 'Śāri' in 58. In 54, we find 'Śāriputramaudgalyāyanau', in which 'Śāriputraḥ' is surely to be restored from 'Śāri'. In 10, a speech of 'Dhānañjaya' begins with the word, 'Śāradvatī'. There can be hardly any doubt that this is to be completed to 'Śāradvatīputra', 'Śāriputra' otherwise which the name also conveys.

7. 'Maudga' in 4, 26. In 90, 'dga' is to be restored to 'Maudga'. 'Maudga' stands for 'Maudgalyāyanah' as is certainly proved from 54, the quoted place. Moreover in 84, the name occurs fully written.

8. 'Kaṇḍi' in 55, is to be restored from 'k. ṇḍi' in 56. 'Kaṇḍi' stands for 'Kaṇḍinyah'.

9. "Gobaṁ" in 30. I am not able to complete this abbreviation. According to the speech this man comes of inferior ranks.

10. 'Mādha' in 71. Probably 'ādha' in 38 is also to be completed to 'Mādha'. The details cannot be decided. According to the speech it can either be a male person of the inferior ranks or a female.

11. 'brāhma' in 13 'brāhma' stands for 'brāhmaṇah' "the Brāhman

12. 'tāpa' in 34, 48. It certainly stands for 'tāpasah' the hermit.

13. 'upā' in 46, 47. The restoration from 'upā' to 'upāsakah' the 'lay—brother' is highly probable.

14. 'śrama' in 40, 109. The restoration from 'śrama' to 'śramaṇah'—"the monk", can hardly be doubtful, as in the text 'śramaṇas' is repeatedly mentioned ; thus in 49 and in 54, where a stage-direction begins 'tataḥ, praviṣanti śramaṇa...', and where later a 'śramaṇa' is mentioned in connection with 'Śāriputra' and 'Maudgalyāyana'. Evidently by 'śramaṇa' we are to understand a member of the Buddhistic order. But in 29 we find 'Ājivikasama...', and it is highly probable that here 'sama' is to be completed to 'samaṇa'. The statement 'śrama' may relate to Buddhist as well as to Ājivika, and indeed it seems that it refers to two persons. The circumstance reveals this as we will later see that the 'śramaṇa' in 40 speaks in a different language than the one appearing in 109.

15. 'pāripārśvikāḥ' in 3. I have already mentioned that the drama begins in 3. The 'pāripārśvika' is surely the assistant of the stage-director, "the stage-manager" who usually appears in the prelude.

16. 'gaṇi' in 8, 16. 'gaṇ' in 44, also is to be completed⁽³⁴⁾ to 'gaṇi'. In 39, we have the stage-direction "gaṇikā...., ṃ upasṛ-(tya) ;" in 41, a 'gaṇikā' is mentioned, in the text or in a stage direction; in 50 the speech is from the house of 'gaṇikā'. 'gaṇi' is therefore an abbreviation of 'gaṇikā' the courtesan. It clearly follows from 8 that her name was Magadhavati. Here we have a scene between the hero 'Dhānañjaya' and the courtesan, and Dhānañjaya ? addresses the courtesan 'Magadhavati'. The name appears in the text also in 16, (Magadhavatyā) and mutilated in 38—(Magadha....), 44 (M. g....) and 53 (Magadh....). The courtesan is therefore surely meant also by 'Maga' which is 'Magadhavati' found twice in 4, and once in 51. In 37, also 'ga' is to be completed probably to 'Maga'.

17. 'ceṭi' in 13. In 44, the same statement is also to be restored after the letters. In 13, Dhānañjaya says to a woman, "You have gone (gat=āsi) to the house of Somadatta's father-in-law", thereupon 'ceṭi' replies. She was no doubt, a woman, and we can certainly complete the word to 'ceṭikā'-maid-servant.

In order to make it complete, I will mention that in 89, the speech is from a merchant's son (śreṣṭhiputra). It cannot be decided whether he plays an independent role in the piece or is identical with a person previously mentioned, perhaps with Somadatta.

The circumstance that is thrice mentioned in 27, 62, and 115, Rājagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, is after all not unimportant for the characteristic of the drama.

Here, undoubtedly we have to deal with a Buddhistic drama as the appearance of Buddha and of his scholars, 'Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, and 'Kaundinya' no doubt shows. The hero was probably a Buddhistic monk. In 29, he begins a speech "na samīpastheṣvān(ā)sthā dūrasthe(ṣu)"—Indifference to the near persons as to the distant ones—obviously an emphasis of the

known Buddhistic indifference. In 4, the courtesan asks him, "where is then your house?" and he replies, "loke parigrahavatāṅ g(ṛ)hiṇāṇi g(ṛ)hāṇi m.....manaso gṛhabhūtam eva". Probably there was a contrast of the family fathers possessing house and of the homeless migrating person himself. Also numerous assertions which consist in the Buddhistic circle of thought are found otherwise. The transitoriness and frailty of the body "evam lokāḥ sasyavaj jāyamaṇo jñānādi°" 50; nadikūladurbale śarīre visrambhaḥ 20." Re-birth in impure womb "garbbhavāsasyāśuceḥ pary(y)ā(ya)ḥ 65. Fear of old age, illness and death compel to take up the monk's order 'maraṇo dvegena khalv ayam pravraj(i)t(o) 11, jarābhaya° 83; jarāvyādhi(jaṇi)(ta)° 35. Resignation of possession, which is a foe "śreyortthaviprayogoyan na 11; 'santortthaṁ visrjanti 47; "sattrubhūtaṁ dravyaṁ hi" 17. The entrance into the monk's orders, "ppravrajyā saṁvartteta 57, pravrajyāśyāgha....40; pavvajissiti 43. The monk and the nun," bhadantaḥ, praśāntena veśeva 18; abh(i)kṣukīyam, 12. The attainment of immortality after being acquainted with a monk which probably refers to the experience of Buddha—"a)mṛtam upalabdham bhikṣum āśādyā 32. The redemption—"evam hi kurvato mokṣa syād anyathā 12; mokṣike tu yatraiva manas.....12. The Dharma-śreyo dharmmaparigraha(h) 43; dharm(m)ā(t) parāṇam(u)khī 47, (dha)rm(m)aḥ paripaṭhitaḥ 12; dharmmo vṛto 108. The illusion-- 'aho mohātmakasya manaso 20; mohāndhasya janasya 64; rāg(ā)ndhāsv(a) ku° 87. The corrupt material world that is to be shunned," tad vārryyaṁ gocarebbhyyo mana iha cala.....27; viśayeṣu jagat pramattaṁ 45. The steeds of five senses-'atha bhavati....pi b(bhr)ān(t)apañ(c)en(dr)iyā(ś)v(o) 12; pañcendriyāśvo 79; (indri)yāśvair apahr̥tamatayo 34. The non-violation of animal-life—prāṇahimsā 17; ahimsro bhavet sarvvehi krimayo 18. The assertion in 14 condemns against the pride of caste. "Or perhaps, the water brings no relief to one tortured by heat if it is said to have been given by a man of lower caste". (āho nikṣṭavarūṇenākhyātam uṣṇaparigat(ā)yodakan na prahlādām.....). Also the statements in 17, agree throughout with Buddhistic views that one must take nourishment for the preservation and strengthening of the body, (śarī(radh)āraṇārtham avasyakarttavyaś cāhāro na cā....) (śar)īraṁ hy āhāro niyata iha vikalam upacārai....) in obvious contrast to the statement made formerly—"dhig āśanan...." fie....

the food". It seems to me as if the special Buddhistic element in our drama would appear much stronger than in the later Nāgānanda. Similar to those dramas from which appears the speech in the above mentioned narrations, our piece also, will be composed with a view to edify the faithful, to strengthen their religious convictions and to gain new adherents for the doctrine of Buddha.

Although it may be quite wrong, one would imagine our drama as a mere dull treatise clothed in dramatic form, over the subjects of Buddhistic dogma. It is possible to note from the few bigger fragments that it did not miss at all the vivid action; the numerous chequered persons of the middle and inferior ranks show that the Indian folk-life formed the back-ground and sometimes, in the scene particularly where Vidūṣaka appears, humor is also met with. In fragment 8, we have a sort of a court-scene in which the courtesan, Dhānañjaya and the hero did participate. As far as possible I translate it :—

Courtesan—What will you do now ?

Dhānañjaya—We will go out, so.....

(*Hero or Dhānañjaya*)—Honoured⁽³⁵⁾ (Lady), it is not the time for the explanation.

Courtesan—How now then ? Fit for love's embrace ?

(*Dhān*....)—What penalty shall I inflict for this offence ?

Court—The lover does not deserve indeed any penalty, but your penalty.

Hero—Who doubts at it ?

Courtesan—Friend, you are a witness.

Dhān....—Sure....

(*Court*.....) with unemotional heart the sting⁽³⁶⁾ have to be endured.

Hero—An excellent idea !

Court—.....with pomegranate juice, mixed with Sochal salt.
.....with force, liquer spiced with Lavalī fruit, infuse
.....'

Hero—.....

Dhān—Magadhavatī, this penalty is nevertheless much too acute, flowers

Court—Sons and grandsons will have to be killed.

Unfortunately it remains obscure whom the courtesan would like to move to life with her sharp things and whether the whole scene is earnest or is meant to be comical as I am also inclined to accept⁽³⁷⁾ the latter. In any case, the author here just once shows, as it is, since he is fed up with the dull fashion.

Another more lively scene between the Gobam (villain) and Vidūṣaka is found in fragment 30, which is unfortunately very badly preserved. At first Vidūṣaka⁽³⁸⁾ speaks of Dhānañjaya and then says. "After having been without breath now he breathes again a little". Dhānañjaya thus lie down obviously very ill. The Gobam⁽³⁹⁾ announces thereof, that he breathes no more. "How, how does he not breathe?" cried out Vidūṣaka and at some ugly word of Gobam he rudely addresses this, "certainly not, certainly not, ye ungrateful son of a slave girl!" I am not able to restore the next. First in 30^b, 3, the text again became somewhat clear. Gobam speaks, "I seek flowers. The prince.....has recovered after partaking the paste of ripe Tālafruits. This is wonderful!" As already mentioned above, the prince is most probably Dhānañjaya. There is no coherence in the later conversation which deals with a substance bitter as a tooth-cleansing medium from fresh Kakṣatu, from (poṭṭikala)⁽⁴⁰⁾ and from the enjoyment partking of kalama rice, white like Navamālikā flowers.

Several times also the comic side of Vidūṣaka is evident. Exactly as in the later dramas he is the poor niggardly wretch whose thought is constantly engaged in delicacies. The words that are preserved to us in 13 about him point out to that, "O, Dhānañjaya, quick, varieties of dainty morsels⁽⁴¹⁾....." Obviously he urges Dhānañjaya to go to the table. It appeared to him too long because already long before (13^a, 4) Dhānañjaya spoke about it that "the dish is beautifully oily." In 30, he complains over "redoubled hunger." In 34^b, a fragment of a strophe which was put obviously in the mouth of a monk, "I wander along my way without encumbrance." There is a piece of prakrit strophe which can hardly belong to any but Vidūṣaka, "....hungry I wander along my way;

too much sour milk....."; surely Vidūṣaka parodied the Monk's speech.

It may also be mentioned in this place that in 10 and 11 an animal fable is met with, in which a couple of chakravāka with a companion and a pair of turtle-doves appear. The hero is requested to explain how the separation of the pair came to pass. He obeys the invitation (ṣṛṇu), out of his narration, the words preserved are, "He, with the idea, that she who was speechless out of joy has been asleep, silent....." I am not able to refer this fable elsewhere.

The technique of the Dramas.

If one goes through the text of the fragments, he will perhaps find one or the other feature which could be taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the dramas; it will hardly be sufficient. But the importance of this fragment and of the pages referred to previously, is not in the fact that they enrich the history of Indian Literature by a few dramas over whose aesthetic worth not even an opinion is possible; far more important is what they teach us about the formal side of Indian dramas to a time, at least four even probably five centuries before Kālidāsa and of which plenty is to be found inspite of the wretched condition in which they are preserved.

The classical drama begins with the so-called Nāndī and a prelude. In fragment 3, is the beginning of our second drama as the word 'siddham' and 'maṅgala' on the margin show which I have referred, by 'om'. After 'siddham' is the stage direction 'pāripārsvikah', the assistant of the stage-director. Of all his words only one letter is kept. If we were sure that the word 'siddham pāripārsvikah' really formed the beginning of the texts, then it would follow that the 'pāripārsvikah' spoke the 'Nāndī'. But it is very well possible (and the form of the fragment makes it even probable) that the upper margin of the leaf is broken off and the second line began with 'pāripārsvikah', and 'siddham' just apparent in the line, in reality but stands as 'om' at the margin. Thus we may conclude from the statement 'pāripārsvikah', that the piece began with a prelude in which the assistant of the stage-director appeared as in so many dramas of the classical period.

The second drama of the fragments was divided into acts as all the bigger dramas of the later time. In 13' we find after the stage-direction "all step away" 'prathamō....' and then a circle. After 'prathamō—a syllable is missing and without doubt we have to complete it to 'īkaḥ'. In 45, we find after the stage direction, "both leave" the figure 2 and then the same circle. Thus obviously here the second act closed.

As regards the persons, I can refer to the above-stated content of the first piece and the list of the second. In this way the first piece gives a surprise. We have to come down to the 11th century to Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacandrodaya before we find again a drama of Indian origin in which the allegorical figures such as 'Buddhi' 'Dhṛti' and 'Kīrti' appeared. Even the Prabodhacandrodaya is not an exact parallel. Kṛṣṇamiśra strongly preserved the uniformity of his vision of society. No creature to whom just a touch of materialism is affixed, appears in the sphere of his abstract theory. Viṣṇu does not represent Viṣṇuism but Viṣṇubhakti, Buddha and Mahāvīra do not lecture their doctrines but Buddhāgama in the form of a Bhikṣu and Digambarasiddhānta in the form of a Kṣapaṇaka. But in any case the historical person of Buddha appears in the same piece as those allegorical figures, but it is not possible to decide whether they appear directly in connection with one another. As far as I know such a mixture of allegory and history occurs firstly in the 16th century in Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya. Here scenes precede in the first three acts in which the appearance of historical persons, of Caitanya and his pupils, Kali and Adharma, Virāga and Bhakti. Maitri and Premabhakti appear and both of the last two take part as spectators also, in the play at Ācāryaratna's house and accompany the performance with their comments of course—"Kiyaddūra upaviṣṭe alakṣitākāre, "Seated at a short distance in an invisible form". As already the name indicates Kavikarṇapūra's work is composed in conscious leaning towards Kṛṣṇamiśra. Whether the latter referred to the traditions which reach to the period of our drama or if the allegorical drama in the middle ages became extinct and was again newly worked by Kṛṣṇamiśra must be left for future investigation.

The stock of persons of the second drama is entirely of another kind. Here, we find again all the familiar aspects of the classical

dramas, as far as we can identify in general the characters and if we disregard the special Buddhistic rolls. The appearance of Vidūṣaka is naturally important of all because this figure was on no account presented by the plot of the piece. The Buddhist author has entertained it because at his time it had naturalised itself on the stage. That Vidūṣaka of our drama shares as with the later one, partiality for delicacies is already mentioned, that likewise he is a brahman as the later one is shown by his name Komudagandha. This name is surely not casually chosen. The Komudagandhas were actually an old brahmanical "gotra". In the Kāśikā to Panini, 4-1-78 is expounded, that the denotation of the persons belonging to the gotra of Kamudagandhi in masculine has to be formed to "Kamudagandha" (according to 4-1-92) in feminine 'Kaumudagandhyā' and the latter name is also mentioned already in the Mahābhāṣya to Panini 6-1-13. On the otherhand, Viśranātha in Sāhityadarpaṇa declares in 79 that Vidūṣaka may have his name from a flower, spring and so on. If, therefore, our author names him as the descendant of one possessing lotus fragrance then he has contrived fortunately to bring in harmony, the claims of the theorist with intrinsic probability.

It is striking that in the stage directions, two persons are never called by their real names or after their rank but always only according to the character of the roll they act, the nāyaka, and duṣṭa. Just another example of this use is known to me; in the Nāgānanda, Jimūta-vāhana and Malayavati are designated in the stage-directions as nāyaka and nāyikā. That this sort of quotation is twice found in a buddhistic drama is probably a mere chance. I am more inclined to see therein an antiquity that the author of Nāgānanda purposely copied.

What we can ascertain about the theatre, the individual scenes and the requisites used in the performance is little. As already mentioned in 4, the villain calls Vidūṣaka's attention to one or more apes. Besides in the text, there is a speech of a jīṇṇuyāna, just as in 66. Thus obviously the scene was enacted in an old garden which at once reminds of the famous old garden (jīṇṇujjāna) in the Mṛcchakaṭikā where in the 'Puṣpakaraṇḍaka' "the apes play on the climbing plants which hangs from the top of the tree as bread-fruits (8,8)". The speech which probably is put into Vidūṣaka's mouth—"great is the

fragrance in the courtesan's house" (50), allows to come to the conclusion that the scene was laid in the courtesan's house, again similar as in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* where *Vidūṣaka* being surprised wanders through the courtyard of *Vasantasenā*'s palace. (Act 4). In 13, the locality is hinted by the words which *Dhānañjaya* addresses to the maid-servant—you have gone into the house of *Somadatta*'s father-in-law. In 45 there is the stage-direction—"he appears in the hall" (*maṇḍapa*). A festival-assembly (*śamāja*) on the summit of a mountain is repeatedly spoken of in 22, 45 and also in 84, but everywhere the continuity is not clear. On the stage, the persons often come and move off in carriages, the usual expression for the vehicle is 'pavaḥaṇa' once also 'yānaka' (*pavaḥaṇam āgacchati* 16; (*pava*)*haṇārūḍhakena gaṇikā* 41; (*pava*)*hārūḍhakena nikkhantā sarvve* 13; *°tīrṇṇakena upasṛptā—gaṇi—16*; *°kayānaken āgacchati* 29). Also this again reminds about the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* in which the 'pravahana', the bullock-cart plays such an important part.

The metre of the drama

If we turn to examine the metre and language of our dramas, we have ample findings. As in the later drama prose and verse change. I give in the following, a list of the places which clearly prove as metrical. Probably there are yet far more pieces of verses preserved in the fragments. Thus the punctuation mark after (u)t(i) iṣṭhot(t)iṣṭha in 4^R, 4, makes it probable, that with the following 'etē hu' began a strophe. Such passages are of no worth to us because they cannot be assigned to any definite metre.

The metres are those of the classical poetry. A comparison with the metrical collections of Mr. Stenzler *Z. D. M. G.* 44, 1 ff. shows that all such with the exception of *Suvadanā* (43) are also utilised in the classical drama. Of the *alaṃkāras*, I may especially mark out the *Yamakas* which are found in the *Śikhariṇī*—strophe from fragment 1.

Śloka :—

8. Śṛṇvam puspā)(44) U— —U....U—U—
 16.U—U. . . p(r)ītir āgatā
 duḥkhe khalv āntare vartte roṣ . . . U—U—

N.B.—The letters "U" indicate short sign in Metre.

The sign '—' indicate long sign in Metre.

Upajāti :—

10. U—pt(a) p(ar) ṇṇ(ā)nt(a)r(a)niḥsṛtena
g(au) r(e)ṇa cittras tanunātapena
nighṛṣṭa— —UU—U— —
21. U—U— —ti bhayaṁ śramaṁ ca.
101. U—U— —UU—U— —ḥ
ātmesvaradhyānaba—U— —

Śalinī :—

- 50 evaṁ lokāḥ sasyavaj jāyamāno
jñānādi— —U— —U— —

Vamśastha :

- 17 yayā vanam śāntam apāśya duḥkhinaḥ

Praharṣinī :

- 1 sorṇṇabbhrus tanumṛdujālapāpipada(ḥ)
— — —UUUU—U—U— —
vāsyātmā viharati nisṛḥḥaḥ kṛtārttho
jñānasya ppraśamarasasya caiva pūrṇaḥ

Vasantatilakā :—

1. nityam sa supta iva yasya na buddhir asti
nityam sa matta iva yo dhṛtīvīprahīna(ḥ)
— —U—U sa ca yasy(a) n(a) k(īrttir asti)
— —U—UUU tiṣṭhati yasya kirt(t)ih (46)
4. loka parigrahavatāṁ g(r)hīṇāṁ g(r)hāṇi
m— —U—UUU—UU—U— —
— —U—U manaso gṛhabhūtam eva.
15. agnir hi me śaraṇam āpadi sindhur uṣṇe
17. — —U—UUU—UU śattrubhūtam (46)
dravyam hi matsari U—UU—U— —
20. mohātmakasya manaso UU—U— —
45. — —U—U viśayeṣu jagat 'pramattān
57. snigdham priyam svajanam aśru U—U— —

59. — —U—UUU—UU—U tasya
yāthātam (ya) to bhavati nāpi g(ṛ)h(a)n (na)

Malini :—

12. atha bhavati U— pi b(bhr)ān(ta)pañ(c)en(dr)iyā(s)v(o).
13. UUU gṛhavibhūtīr yyasya mitrais sahīy.
amṛtam iva hi pītvā sādḥ U— —U— —
14. UUUUUU— — —U— nādareṇa
s(th)itamatiḥ alabbhyaṁ yat (su)raiś(c) āsuraiś ca.
27. UUUUUU—sya (ś)r(i)viyuktam puram syāt.
32. (tad a)mṛtam upalabdham bhikṣum āśāddya—
65. UUUUUU— — —U— —s tathāyaṁ
śāyita iva sadaśvo ⁽⁴⁷⁾ ghaṭṭitaś cotthi—

Śikharinī :

1. t(a)m(o) y(e)n(a) kṣ(i) pt(aṁ) UUUU m(a)yūkh(ai) r UUU—
r(a)j(o) y(a)sy(a) dhv (a)st(aṁ) UUUUU—UUU—
U—yenāvāptam⁽⁴⁸⁾ paramam amṛtan durllabham ṛtam
manobuddhis tasminn⁽⁴⁹⁾ aham abhirame śāntiparame.

Harinī :

34. UUUUU yah svasthodhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ
ja UUUU— — — —U—UU—U—
34. UUUUU — — nnoddhvānañ carāmi bubhukkḥito⁽⁵⁰⁾
bahu dadhi pi — — — —U—UU—U—

Śardūlavikrīḍita :—

7. guhyaṁ gūhati duṣkarāṇi kurute tatsaṅgatai—U—
17. — — —UU U nan dhig aśanan dhik tat sukh— —U—
18. — — —UU—U—UUU— — —sv ahimsro bhavet
sarve hi krimayo U— UU— — —U— —U—
41. — — —UU—U—UUU— —myāḥ puresmin narāḥ
svasth — —UU—U—UUU— — —U— —U—
43. śreyo dharmmaparigraha UUU— — —U— —U—
47. — — —UU—U—U naḥ akam loke ca garhām parān
tasmān —UU—U—UUU— — —U— —U—
47. śantorttham viṣṇjanti dharm (m)a UU— — —U— —U—
63. yat kṛtvā vyasanam parasya la U— — —U— —U—

64. mohāndhasya janasya—UUU—U—U—
 65. yaḥ paśya vyudayavyaya UUU—U—U—
 65. —UU—U—UUU yāt kṛtvāpi citrāḥ kathāḥ
 87. —UU—U—UUU—U—U—U yaḥ
 rāgāndhā⁽⁵¹⁾ sv(a) ku—U—UUU—U—U—

Suvadanā :

1. (pakṣi)va vyomni yāti vra(jati) UUU—UUU—
 (niḥ) saṅga(s) t(o)y(ava)d gām praviśati bahudā=
 mūrttim vibhajati.
 khe varṣaty ambuddhārām jvalati ca yugapat=
 sandhyāmbuda⁽⁵²⁾ iva
 svacchandāt parvva — — vrajati ca vidhiv (a) d
 —dh (ar) mm (a) ñ ca ca(rati).
 10. —U—UUUUUU—U mahatī
 yaś cāśya prārth tortthaḥ sa ca hṛdaya—
 —gataḥ sandṛśyat UU—
 33. —U—UUUUUU—ñ janayati
 vyāhanti pri(t)i —UUUUUU—UU—
 34. —(indri)yaśvair apahr̥tamatayo)⁽⁵³⁾—UUU—
 62. —U—m malinayati kulam vṛttam ltulayate
 tadrā —U—UUUUUU—UU—

Sragdharā:—

27. paśyatty asyānnyacakṣur UUUUUU—U—U—
 —U—UUUUUU—U—ye ppradoṣam⁽⁵⁴⁾)
 27. tad vāryyaṇ gocarabbhyo mana iha cala⁽⁵⁵⁾)—U—U—
 79. —U—UUUUUU—U pañcendriyāśvo
 na—U—UUUUUU—U—U—

Āryā:—

8. suradavimaddakkhama w w w w w U w U w w—

The language of the dramas.

Exactly as in classical drama Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects alter as well. In the first drama the three persons Buddhi, Dhṛti and

N. B.—The letters U indicate short sign in Metre.

The sign — indicate long sign in Metre.

The letters W indicate two shorts signs in metre.

Kirti whose speeches are preserved to us speak Sanskrit. As female persons are dealt with, perhaps Prakrit is at first expected to be their language. But in later allegorical dramas some female persons also speak in Sanskrit as in the Prabodhacandrodaya, Śānti, Śraddhā, Kṣamā, Viṣṇubhakti, Śarasvatī, Upaniṣad, and in Caitanyacandrodaya Premabhakti. Others such as Rati. Mati, Tṛṣṇā, Himsā, Vibhramāvatī, Mithyādṛṣṭi, Karuṇā, Maitrī in Prabodhacandrodaya, and Bhakti and Maitrī in Caitanyacandrodaya. Here the language adjusts according to the location and the character that is allotted to the individual figures in the drama.

In the second drama the hero speaks Śanskrit in (4, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 29, 59) and Dhānañjaya in (8, 10, 13, 16, 25, 29, 70). Sanskrit is also the language of Buddha. His speech (64, 116) twice begins with svāgataṃ, once (64) up.t.ṣy and even if the word is completed to 'upatoṣya' as proposed by me, it would not be right, the appearance of ṣ verifies that it is a Sanskrit word. Also the few words which we can with certainty assign to both the pupils of Buddha, Maudgalyāyana and Kauṇḍinya "(u) t(t)iṣṭhot (t)iṣṭha-ete hu.... in 4, 'itthaṃ śreya.... in 90 and 'bhagavan et (e)kh(alu) in 56, distinctly show that they spoke Sanskrit. We are therefore able to assign the same language forthwith also for the third pupil Śāriputra of whose speeches no complete word is kept for us. Of upāsakā's speech we have the beginning-'evam tāva bā.....⁽⁵⁶⁾ in 46 and "bhavati nāham ekāntata".... in 47. Thus also he spoke Sanskrit, the word 'tāva' which could cause doubt is even used, as we will see in the Sanskrit of these dramas. Moreover, as expected, Sanskrit is the language of the Brāhmaṇa of which we have the word 'bhos tatha' in 13.

Obstacles abound the decision of the Sramana's language. In 40, he begins 'na khu eke' in 109 praj(ñ)āto. i. The first is clearly Prakrit and the second is likewise distinctly Sanskrit⁽⁵⁷⁾. I have already noted above that in regard to Śramaṇa probably two different persons are meant, one a buddhistic monk and the other possibly an 'Ājīvaka'. The disparity in the language speaks itself in any case for this supposition. If this is correct, then naturally Sanskrit is to be assigned to the buddhistic monk and Prakrit to the Ājīvaka. Nothing is found about the language of Pāripārs'vika of whose speech only one letter is preserved. The rest of the persons speak Prakrit.

The Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit of the fragments is not always correct. Especially in the phonetic state, the influx of Prakrit and of the local accent which are but not so numerous show that the language would have to be marked perhaps as mixed dialect. In some cases, there may also be simple errors of the writer, as is surely the case in the first fragment in 'sthāghaṃ' for 'sthānaṃ', 'parigatayo' for 'tāyo' in 14, 'sandeha' for 'sandehaḥ' in 8, 'hastai' for 'hastaiḥ' in 50. Short instead of long is in 'yenāvaptam' 1, 'avaptukāmena⁽⁵⁹⁾' 14, 'sandhyambuda' 1, anasthā 29, rāgandhā 87, mālyānulepanā^o 111, tuṣṇīm 10. The form 'tuṣṇīm' is often met with in buddhistic Sanskrit, the rest rely indeed only on the slip of writing. The long vowel stands reversed instead of the short one in 'kīrt(t)iḥ 1, paktiḥ 13, sadāśvo 65, ārtthasiddhaye 13, ārttheṣu 21, p (r) atig(ṛ)hitānāṣas (ya) in 51. In the first three cases I may accept the slip of pen, but in 'ārttha^o and ārttheṣu there is provincialism. There is a parallel of the vowel-lengthening in the word 'ārhat' in the inscription of Mathurā, which is of the same period as our fragment; 'ārhatō Parśvasya (Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 207, Nr. 29), ārahato Vardhamānasa, ārahato devikula⁽⁶¹⁾, (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII, p. 152, Nr. 30), ārahanītapujāye (Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 207, Nr. 30)⁽⁶²⁾). The vowel-lengthening in 'pratigṛhita^o' has many parallels in Sanskrit, in 'krimayo' 18, we have 'ri' for 'ṛ'. The spelling with 'ri' is often met with in this word and Buddhacarita 5, 5 is made sure by the metre just as in our passage. 'pṛadveṣam' in 27 is remarkable whereof the metre requires the form 'pradoṣam', appearing even repeatedly in buddhistic Sanskrit. 'Yeva' in 'sarvā yeva' in 1, is surely a prakritism as also 'tāva in tāva vyākaranasya in 8, and tava b(r)ā^o in 46. 'tāvat' in 57 stands in pausa, before vowel 'tāvad' in 'tāvad enaṃ' in 1. Peculiar is bhaga....m in 1, which is sure to be completed to 'bhagavām'. The same form is found in the language of Mahāvastu and of Buddhistic Sanskrit canons where the nominative singular of 'mat' and 'vat' stems always terminate in 'mām' and '—vām'. So the peculiar sandhi in 'sṛṇvam "puṣpā^o' for 'sṛṇvan puṣpā^o' in 8, explains itself. Obviously as 'bhagavān' became 'bhagavām' so sṛṇvan first became 'śṛṇvam' and then farther before 'p' 'śṛṇvam. A pure prakrit form is 'Somadattassa' in the words which Dhānañjaya in 13 addresses to the maid-servant. It rests indeed on an omission

because 'śvaśurakulam' makes it sure that Dhānañjaya uses Sanskrit also in this passage. 'Pṛcchemas' in 57 is after all a false form.

The orthography is the same as in the older Sanskrit inscriptions. The reduplication of consonants demanded by phoneticians are expressed repeatedly in the script but more often not yet marked.

The most regular is the reduplication of explosives, nasals and semi-vowels after 'r' e.g. 'saṅkirṇṇa°' 34, 'nivarttakeṣu' 1, 'sukhār-ttham' 35, 'durbale' 20, 'irb(b)an(dh)ḥ' 20, 'garbbha°' 65, 'prādur-bbhūta(ṇ)' 1, 'dharmmo 108' 'āścaryyam' 54, 'vibhūtīr yasya' 13, durllabham 1, sarvve 18. Exceptions are mostly in the fragments of the first drama, 'punar na 1,' 'maharṣir Magadha° 1,' 'kurmaḥ 1,' 'dharmah' 1, 'buddhir vistīryate' 1, in those of the second they are relatively rare : 'ṇṭārthanai' 25 'dharma°) 4, '(rmaṇ 5'(2), nirmitaṇ 7, 'karmā 14, 'parikarmaṇoh 89, bahir yāsyāma 8. Before 'r' the explosive is reduplicated, v and once even s reduplicate if a vowel precedes them : 'hnikakkriyaḥ' 9, 'cakkravāka°' 10. 11, 'cakk(r)am 65, parikkrama 112, viggraho 10, cittras 10, dāsīputtra 10, yattraiva 12, 'sattru° 17, asti pprahātavyaṇ 1, 'sya ppraśama° 1, na pprat(i)grah, 9, rogappa° 15, khalu pp(r)ayatitavyam 14, ppravvraja 57, '(ye)ppradveṣam 27, 'sya bbrūhi 10, soraṇṇabbhr(u)s 1, 'pib(bhr)ān(t)a° 12, ppravvraja 57, vissrabdham 9. The simple spelling exists more often :—hi k(r)ima(y)o 18, 'vigraho 1, aparigrahaḥ 34, 'parigraha° 43, parigrahavatāṇ 4, pprat(i)grah. 9, citrāḥ 65, yatra 1, tatra 1. 16, tatrai° 23, cātra 16, (a)tr(a) (?) 51, sarvvatra (68) 14, mitrais 13, Śāriputra° 54, 'put(r)e 89, (n)idrā° 10, tadrā° 62, 'viprahīṇa(h) 1, me priyaṇ 10, yeṣu priyeṣ(u) 57, 'viprayogo 11, na prahlādā° 14, 'sya prārthito 10, viśeṣeṣu pra° 27, naṣyati prajā 21, 'va prāṇa° 17, 'vāhya pr(i)t(i)° 10, 'hanti pri° 33, 'viṣati prabhā° 1, ṇ(r)tth(e)ṣu pravarttamaṇaḥ 21, 'syabrāhmaṇa° 47, r(a)kṣati bhraṣṭa° 98, yāti vra(jati) 1, pravraj(i)t(o) 11, pravrajyā° 40, visrambhaḥ 20. Before 'y' the explosive, nasal and 'l' which are preceded by a vowel reduplicate :—paṣyatty a° 27, āsā(ddya) 32, (s)āddhyaṇ 54, suddheddhyāsa(ye) 75, vaddh(y)am° 111, asyāṇnya° 27, annyathā 12, mannyamānas 10, alab(bhy)āṇ 14, kṛṣṭebbhya 24, gocarebbhyo 27, mallyānu° 111. Here also the simple spellings are more numerous :—'ākhyātam 14, vaimukhyena 38, pravrajyā° 40, ppravvraja 57, (pu)ṇya° 92, 'parityāgā° 34, nityam 1, anitya(m) 1, nityaṇ 1, varṣaty

ambu° 1, Magadhavatyā 16, utpadyate 27, notpadya(t)(e) 50, °syodyāne 58, yady eṣa 90, °svaradhyāna° 101, dain(y)ena 35, yuvābhyām 1, āturebhyo 15, gamyatām 16, carāmy a° 34, parikkramya 112,° Maudgalyāyanau 54, Maudgalyāyanas 84. In the frequent combination 'vy' 'v' is never reduplicated. Before 'v' an explosive after a vowel is reduplicated in 'maranāddhayanī 4, sivoddhvani 32, but not in 'ṛddhau kva 1, kṛtvā 63, kṛtvāpi 65, pitvā 13, gacchat(v) 13, gacchat (v). 13, maranodvegena 11, Sāradvatī° 10, °harati dvesa° 20, °nai dvesaḥ 21, ppradveṣam 27, tad vāryyaḥ 27, svasthodhvānañ 34. Nasal and 'l' before 'v' are not reduplicated. śṛṇvam 8, khalv ayaḥ 8. 11, khalv āntare 16.

Before 'p' the Upadhmāniya in °myāḥ pure 41, and °bhiḥ (p)(r)a(t)ig(ṛ)hītā° 51, is twice found, otherwise always the visarga. The visarga is everywhere before 'k' and 'kh' just as before sibilants with the exception of mitrais sahi(y) 13. But here the second 's' is only added by later hand. The Visarga has disappeared before s+consonant in 'nisprhaḥ 1, moksa syād 12, īagan(dh)ā s(v)a ku° 87, and originally also in 'narā svasth 41, where narā has only later been corrected to narāḥ; it is preserved in 'dhṛtiḥ stāgham(nam) 1, nāyakaḥ smayati 4, °yaḥ svastho 34, taiḥ svajana° 64, l(ō)kaḥ sva° 107.

Before explosives and nasals, generally the nasal group stands in the same way as the original 'm'. The spellings 'tasmimnn aham' 1, 'āscaryyam bhagavat 54, are errors, as they are often found in later manuscript. Exceptions are rare—°gatām mannyamānas 10, laj arikam mallyā° 111, and in the script of the later 'ayam daṇḍaḥ 8, °(rmaḥ) kim 5, pānodakam pṛthivy° 50, °(bh)yāsām(d)i(ccha)ram (?) 116, further °dhārām jvalati 1, °sa(m)jñakan 1, aya(m) pravraj(i)t(o) 11, where the Anusvāra is obviously used to elude the intricate double-letter 'ñjva', 'ñjña', 'mpra'. Before semi-vowels, sibilants and h the Anusvāra stands just twice; in 'katham viggraho'ā and °samhṛta° in 10 the Anunāsika stands. The Anusvāra in pausa stands in 'boddhavya(m) 1, ṛtaḥ 1, prādurbbhūta(m) 1, °kulaḥ 13, probably also in 'bāḍham 8' and °hitam 46, but likewise often m : °(t)(a)(v)y(a)m 6, gamyatām 16, °v(i)tavyam 14, pp(r)ayatitavyam 14, °ryyam 26, evam 46, °(bh)yāsām(d)i(cch)aram (?) 116, bhūtam (69) 17.

Therefore as mentioned above (p. 10) the punctuation-marks are only sparingly used so the impression is often formed as if the

rules of sandhi have been neglected. Really, in most cases, the word that is not compounded stands at the end of the sentence, clear examples are:—"paripaṭhitaḥ mokṣike' 12 'bhavati āho 14, (v)ā(eṣ)ā 34, pa(k)ti(ti)ḥ atha 13, visrambhaḥ a(pi) 20, b(b)an(dh). h(a)ho 20, ta(t) loke 4, nā(r)tthaḥ tac 95. The first word stands at the end of the verse in 'aparigrahaḥ ja' 34, (ya)ḥ rāgan(dh)ā 87, and so on. Therefore it is clear that there is no sandhi in Magadhavati atitikṣṇaḥ 8, bha(gava) n et(e) 56, as the first word is a vocative. It is only rarely found that there is no ground for no sandhi as for example in 'ataḥ vṛ(k)..... 13, °(ti)ṛṇṇakena upasṛptā 16.

The Prakrit.

Prakrit is spoken by the villain, Gobaiṇ°, the courtesan Vidūṣaka Mādha°, the Tāpasa, one of the Śramaṇa and the maid-servant. Strange to say and different from the later custom the stage-directions are also partly in Prakrit. Thus we find in 11 nikkha....., which undoubtedly is to be completed to 'nikkhanto' or 'nikkhantā'; in 45 (ma)ṇḍapaṇ pavisati and (n)ik(kh)antā ubhaye. Probably in 4, 'tato vaṭi(y)....., is also a stage-direction in Prakrit. A mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit is in 13, °(ṇ)ārūḍhake(na). nikkhantā sarvve and in 16° pi pavahaṇaṁ āgacchati nirvvarṇṇi(y)(a). Nirvvarṇṇiya is a mixture of nivvaṇṇiya and nirvvarṇya. On the other hand we have also many stage-directions in Sanskrit:—(t) (a) (t) (a) (ḥ p)r (a)(v)(i)ś(ati) 3, nāyakaḥ smayati 4, praviṣati nāyako.... 9, niṣkrāntaḥ 13, ataḥ⁽⁷⁰⁾, vṛ (k).... 13, nirvvarṇya (y)(ati) 16, (gṛ)ham iva dṛṣtvā 21, °kayānakenāgacchati 29, gaṇ(i)kām upasṛ (tya)⁽⁷¹⁾ 39, ataḥ (45), tataḥ praviṣanti śramaṇa.... 54, (p)(r)aviṣati nāya(kā) 85, ataḥ pra(vi)(śati) 99, parikkrama 112, perhaps also °(ti)ṛṇṇakena upasṛptā 16. Moreover, the long stage-direction comes at the end of 1.

It seems here that originally a definite principle has been followed. The stage-direction is given in the language of the persons to which they belong. Most of the cases, however agree with it, in which a re-examination is possible. The remarks 'nāyakaḥ smayati' 4, 'praviṣati nāyako.... 9' refer to the Sanskrit-speaking hero; niṣkrāntaḥ in 13 refers to the Sanskrit-speaking Brahman, tataḥ praviṣanti śramaṇa.... in 54 to Buddhistic śramanas who appear in attendance with Śariputra and Maudgalyāyana mentioned in 54^b

and whose language as shown above is also Sanskrit, gr̥ham iva dṛṣṭvā in 21 stands in the midst of Sanskrit speech. The remark 'nikkha(nto or °ntā) in 11, refers on the other hand to a prakrit-speaking person, tato vaṭṭiy....in 4, to the prakrit speaking villain. In 16 nirvvarṇṇa (yati), remaining after the words which were Prakrit as far as the scanty remainder permits to judge, and 'gaṇikā....m upasṛ(tya) in 39, which refers to the prakrit-speaking courtesan, are deviated from the rule. It is hardly to be distinguished whether these deviations and also the mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit in both the stage-directions cited in 13 and 16 are to be accounted to the author or to the writer.

The dialect of the villain.

The prakrit which appears in our fragments is not a uniform language. We can distinguish clearly, at least three dialects. The dialect of the villain contrasts distinctly from the others. The places where the villain is especially marked as the speaker (?) are the following:—

4.haṅgho Komudagandha dekkha tāva....(l)(i)l(a)m⁽⁷²⁾
makkaṭṭah(o).

4.m peṇseti ajja te dāṣṭiputta himena pa (l)....ti.
22. mā tāva mā tāva .
37. na ni..
45. (k) iṣṣa kālanā.
88. ṣ(ā)p(a) mah(i) mā..
96. ba(m)bha(ṇa°).

Besides these, there are series of instances in which the name of the person is missing. The causes that induced me to assign them to the villain, are given in the notes:—

10.bhoti⁽⁷³⁾
22.(i) tṭhā khu ahakaṁ na vutte vicchad (d)....⁽⁷⁴⁾.
22.n. k. (bam) bhaṇābhonti⁽⁷⁵⁾.
45.n kalemī na jim (bh) āye⁽⁷⁶⁾.
53.ttena sāha samā (g)(ama)°⁽⁷⁶⁾..
77.haṅgho⁽⁷⁷⁾..
85.na sakkan tahiṇ ga⁽⁷⁶⁾

The following is the result in favour of the grammar:—

Vowel-system:—

'r' becomes 'u'—'vutte' 22, [?] becomes 'e'—dekkha 4, 'au' becomes 'o': Komudagandha 4. Before reduplicated consonants the long-vowel is shortened: 'bambhaṇā 22, bambha(ṇa°)96.

Consonant-system:—

ṇ is replaced by 'n' besides the latent 'r' kālanā 45 (but bambhaṇā 22).

'r' becomes l. kalemi 45, kālanā 45.

s becomes ś: dāśīputta 4, kiśśa 45, śaha 53, samāg (ama°)

53. (s remains sakkan 85, śāpo° (?) 88). Etymologically indistinct is 'peśseti 4.

Compound consonants: ky becomes kk: śakkan 85. dy becomes jj: ajja 4. sy becomes śś: kiśśa 45. tr becomes tt: dāśīputta 4. br when initial becomes 'b': bambhaṇā 22. bambha(ṇa°) 96. rk becomes kk: makkaṭaḥo 4. rd becomes dd: vicchadd...22. kṣ. becomes kkh: dekkha 4. hm becomes mbh: bambhaṇā 22, bambha(ṇa°) 96, jimbhāye 45. ṇh becomes ṇgh: haṇgho 4. 77. ava becomes o:—bhoti 10, bhonti 22. khalu becomes khu 22.

Final-sound sandhi.

—as becomes—e: vutte 22.

—ās becomes—ā: bambhaṇā 22. The final consonant is dropped: tāva 4. 22, kālanā 45. Original 'm' appears as Anusvāra: ahakaṁ na 22, as class nasal: l(i)l(a)m makkaṭaḥo 4, °m peśseti 4, °ṇ kalemi 45, śakkan tahiṇ ga° 85.

Inflection.—

'a' stems. Sing. Nom. m. vutte 22. n. śakaṁ (73) 85. Instr. himena (?) 4, °ttena 53. Dat. jimbhāye (?) 45. Gen. makkaṭaḥo (?) 4. Abl. kālana 45. Vok. Komudagandha 4, dāśīputta 4, Pl. Nom. m. bambhaṇā 22.

Personal pronouns. Sg. Nom. ahakaṁ 22. Gen. te. 4. Interrogative pronoun. Sg. Gn. Neutr. kiśśa 45.

Verb—Pres. Ind. 1. Sg. kalemi 45. 3. Sg. bhoti 10, peśseti 4.

3. Pl. bhonti 22. Imp. 2. Sg. dekkha 4. Past. Part. Pass. vutte 22.—

Adverbs etc.

tahiṇ 85; tāva 4. 22; ajja 4; mā 22; khu 22; na 22. 37. 45; 85; haṇgho 4. 77.

The transition of *r* to *l*, the representation of the original palatal as dental sibilant through *ś* and the change of the ending of the Nom. Sg. of masc. 'a' stems to 'e' characterise this dialect as Māgadhi. 'Kalemi' (Pischel Ś 509) (79) also agrees with this fact. But the forms, however, that do not agree with the rules of grammarians and partly also with the custom of the later dramas are far more numerous. Nowhere, in the fragments, the transition of a tenuis to the media is found (dekkha tāva, mā tāva, ajja te contrary to Pischel 185; peśseti, bhoti in contrary to Pischel 203; makkaṭaho) or the dropping of a consonant (Komudagandha, jimbhāye). The cerebralising of *n* (Pischel 224) does not occur (*ṛttenā*, *himena*, *na*), on the contrary *ṇ* is partly replaced by *n* (*kālanā*). The treatment of final 'm' before explosives and nasals is the same as in Sanskrit⁽⁸⁰⁾. It is contradicted by individual forms 'haṅgho' (later haṁho; Pischel 267), bambhaṇā, bambha (ṇa) (later bamhaṇa; Pischel 330), ahakaṁ (later ahake, hake, hage; Var. 11, 9; Hem. 4, 301, Pischel 417), kiśśa (later kīśa; Pischel 428) ajja (later—ayya; Hem. 4, 292; Pischel 280), vicchadd... (later c.ch becomes śc; Hem. 4. 295. Pischel 233), dekkha (later—kṣ. becomes sk, hk; Var. 11, 8; Hem 4, 296 f; Pischel 324), l...iṭṭhā (later ṣṭ and ṣṭh become sṭ; Hem 4. 289 f. Pischel 303).

'makkaṭaho' is an intricate form. It reminds, at first of the forms of 'āhu, āho, which Kramadīśvara and Mārkaṇḍeya allow (Pischel 372) for the vocative plural of 'a' stems. But as 'makkaṭaho' appears at the end of the sentence, it is wholly improbable that it is a vocative. We should rather expect a genitive if the preceding word is rightly completed to 'lilaṁ'. In Māgadhi the genitive singular of the 'a' stems often terminates to —āha (Pischel 366) but not to —aho, —aho is but the usual ending of the Gen. Sg. in Apabhraṁśa. Therefore I take it as possible that in 'makkaṭaho' we have one gen sg. of Māgadhi deviating from the grammarian, but owing to the uncertainty of the explanation I do not like to draw any further conclusion.

In most of the other points, the language of the fragments proves without further ado as in the medial constant (*ṛ*) remaining unchanged, in 'n' remaining unaltered to the cerebral, in the forms 'ahakaṁ' and 'kiśśa' which exactly correspond to the stems of 'hage' and 'kīśa' which are to be theoretically deduced. Also the 'cch' must be

older than 'śc' because 'śc' intercedes also for the secondary 'cch'. The relation of 'kkh' to sk, hk and of tth to sṭ is undoubtedly to be considered⁽⁸¹⁾ in the same way. Also 'dy' surely became at first 'jj' and only later 'jj' also further developed into 'yy' as simple 'j' came to be 'y'. Finally, we may not also forget that the rules about the change from 'dy' to 'yy', from 'ks' to 'śk', 'hk', from cch to śc, and from sṭ and sṭh to sṭ depend on the statement of the grammarian and the first two never, and both the last only seldom are followed in the manuscript of the dramas. Probably, 'hañho' and 'bambhaṇa' are after all even older than 'hañho' and 'bambhaṇa' which seemed to be taken from another dialect. In any case, the circumstances bespeak that we find also in the closely-related dialect of Asoka's pillar—inscription 'bābhanesu' 'bhāḇana°' (VII). I believe, that we are after all entitled to see *in the dialect of the villain a first step of Magadhī of the grammarian and of the dramas, that is an old—Māgadhī.*

The dialect of 'Gobam'.

The dialect which 'gobam' speaks is closely related to that of the villain. The only passage expressly marked as his speech is :—

30. icchāmi pupphā yeva bhaṭṭidālake nalakagga....ke palinatatāphalavannīkāhi bhuj(j)itāhi kuslavā tam accha(liyam)....

Besides this, to be placed with far more certainty :—

10.gacchamāne n(i)lussāsāṇ kaleti⁽⁸²⁾.

30. ..paccaggaka(kkha) tudantaponatittakena poṭṭikalasam(ni).. (na)(va)mālikākusu(ma) paṇḍalākam kalamodanākam bhumjitaye⁽⁸³⁾.

The following is the result with regard to grammar :—

Vowel-System :—'ṛ' becomes 'i' bhaṭṭidālake au becomes o kalamodanākam. The long vowel shortens before the reduplicated consonants : 'nalakaggā°, accha(liyam) (?) °paṇḍalākam. A vowel lengthens before the suffix 'ka' : °vannikāhi, °paṇḍalākam, kalamodanākam.

Consonant-System :—

'ṇ' is replaced by 'n', with the latent 'r' : palinata(°vannikāhi) 'bh' becomes 'h' : vannikāhi, bhujjitāhi.

'r' becomes 'l' : bhaṭṭidālake, palinata°, nilussāsāṇ, kaleti, paṇḍalākam.

's' becomes 's' : kusalavā, (nilussāsāṇ) (s remains : nilussāsāṇ, poṭṭikalasamni°, kusuma°).

Combined consonants : 'kt' becomes 'tt' : tittakena. 'jy' becomes jj-bhujjitāhi, 'ty' becomes 'cc' : paccagga°. gr becomes 'gg' pacagga°, nalakaggā°, pr becomes 'p' when initial, : paccagga° 'rn' becomes 'nn' : °vannikāhi. 'rt' becomes 'tt' : bhaṭṭidālake, kṣ becomes 'kkh' : °kakkhatu°. t+śv becomes 'ss' : nilussāsāṇ. sc becomes cch : accha (liyam) (?). śp becomes pph : pupphā 'ava' becomes 'o' : dantapona° but (na) vamaṭikā°.

Terminal and initial Sandhi.—

—'as' becomes 'e' : bhaṭṭidālake, gacchamāne. The terminal consonant drops : kusalavā. Initial 'e' becomes 'ye' after the long vowel : pupphā yeva. Originally terminal 'm' appears as 'anusvāra' : °samni°, °paṇḍalākāṇ kalamodanākāṇ bhujji°, as class-nasal :— nilussāsāṇ kaleti, as 'm' before vowel : tam accha(liyam) (?).

Inflection :—

'a' stems. Sing. Nom. Masc. 'bhaṭṭidālake', gacchamāne. Acc. masc. nilussāsāṇ. Masc. or Neut. °paṇḍalākāṇ, kalamodanākāṇ. Instr. °tittakena. Pl. Acc. Neut. pupphā.

ā stems. Pl. Inst. °vannikāhi, bhujjitāhi.

vat-stems. Sing. Nom. Masc. kusalavā.

Pronouns. Demontr. Sing. Nom. Neutr. 'tam' (?).

Verbs. Prest. Ind. 1. Sg. icchāmi. 3 sg. kaleti. Prest. Part. Med. gacchamāne. Past. Part. Pass. palinata°, bhujjitāhi. Inf. bhujjitaye.

Particles. 'Yeva'.

Three points are important in order to determine the dialect; the change of the terminal 'as' in the nom. sing. of the masculine 'a' stems into 'e', the replacing of 'r' by 'l' and 's' appearing in place of an original ś and s. The third point excludes the Māgadhī but the first two show that the dialect must be closely related to Māgadhī. Under the literary prakrit, Ardhamāgadhī, the language of the Jaina-cannons, comes next. Even here the nominative terminating in 'e' and the 's' occur and the change from 'r' to 'l' is current here at least much more than in the other prakrit dialects apart from Māgadhī. This pāli as shown in our fragment

occurs also in Arddhamāgadhi and often indeed even in the oldest works (Pischel 257). There are indeed forms retained with 'r' for 'bhaṭṭidālake' and 'kaleti' (Pischel 55 ; 509). But the dialect of our fragment shows even other peculiarities of 'Ardhamāgadhi'. According to the context, the form 'bhūṃjitaye' can only be an Infinitive. But just for AMg. the infinitives ending in 'tae' 'ittae' are characteristic ; 'bhuñjittae' is in fact verified (Pischel 578)⁽⁸⁴⁾. The lengthening of the vowel before the suffix '-ka' as we find them in 'paṇḍalākam' 'vannikāhi, kalamodanākam', appearing in AMg. and in the dialect of Śākāra which does not exist here (Pischel 70). The spelling of 'vannikāhi' with dental instead of the expected cerebral-nasal is very striking. The same spelling (vanna) occurs in AMg. and in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī which is excluded here, and Jaina Śaurasenī (Pischel 225). Accusative. Plur. of Neutr ending in '-ā' as pupphā are often found in AMg. Pischel (367) notes sporadic forms also from Śaurasenī, Māgadhi and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī but all the three cannot be taken into account here.

But in a series of points our dialect does not coincide with AMg. As in the Māgadhi of the fragment nowhere is found the change of the tenuis to the media or the dropping of a consonant ('dālake, nalakaggā°, 'tittakena, navamālikā°, 'paṇḍalākam, kalamodanākam, bhūṃjitaye) and nowhere the cerebralising of a n (nalakaggā°, gacchamāne, nilussāsam, dantaponatittakena, kalamodanākam) ; in 'palinata° even the dental takes the place of the cerebral, only for the latent 'r'. It is of course to be noticed that even in AMg. the simple 'n' can remain initially. (Pischel 224). The terminal 'm' is treated here as in Sanskrit⁽⁸⁵⁾. The reduplication of the consonants found in the infinitive in 'AMg' is not yet found in the dialect of the fragment (bhūṃjitaye). In 'kalamodanākam' it appears that AMg. has 'l' for 'ṛ' ; perhaps the dental 'l' bases just on the later writing (Pischel 226). The instrumentals ending in '-tāhi' are further varying, in AMg. the forms without nasal are moreover found even in verses and in prose before an enclitic word (Pischel 350). The nominative of 'vat' stems terminates in AMg. in 'vam' or 'vante' (Pischel 396f) and in the fragment in-vā (kusalavā). How in Pali and in Māgadhi, in the dialect of the fragment, an 'y' is inserted before 'eva' after a long vowel (pupphāyeva), cannot be verified in AMg.

In my opinion these variations, by no means, exclude the coherence of the dialect of the fragment with AMg. They are partly antiquated. The maintaining of the medial consonant, of dental 'n' and 'l', and the stay of the reduplication of consonant belong to it. Even the instrumental ending in '-āhi' and the Nom. Sing. of the 'vat' stems can thus be conceived. The ending '-vā' occurs together with '-vanto' in Pāli and may be a secondary form originated in the sandhi of a sentence, which later was given up in favour of '-vañ'. *"Therefore we would be able to note the dialect of the fragment as a first step of Ardhamāgadhī, as old Ardhamāgadhī"*. The total replacing of 'r' to 'l', and the form 'yeva' after long vowel urges to assume that this preliminary stage was much nearer to Māgadhī than the later AMg. There is nothing unlikely in it because the later AMg. also shows tendency to be similar to the western dialect. I just want to remind of the intrusion of 'o' in the Nom. Sing. of the 'a' stems.

Also I do not like to omit to refer to the great similarity existing between the old AMg. of our fragment and the dialect of Aśoka's pillar inscription. Three characteristic features common to them are 'e' for the terminal 'as', coincidence of the three sibilants in 's', and the general replacement of 'r' by 'l'. There is a fourth one besides. As is well-known, the inscription-dialect has neither 'ñ' nor 'ṇ' between vowels but just 'n'. Even in our fragment in both the places the dental nasal is found where we are to expect 'ṇ' (palinata°, 'vannikāhi). In the inscription-dialect 'eva' further becomes 'yeva' after vowel, as 'etāni yeva' in V and 'duvehi yeva' in VII, shows; likewise in the fragment 'pupphāyeva'. Lastly the similarity in the lengthening of vowels before the suffix 'ka' is striking; as 'paṇḍalākam, 'vannikāhi, kalamodanākam in the fragment stand so in the inscriptions is found 'cilaṃthitikā in II⁽⁸⁶⁾, lajūkā in IV, VII⁽⁸⁷⁾, lajūkānam in IV. The dialects differ in Nom. Acc. Plur. of the neutral 'a' stems which always terminate in '-āni' in the pillar inscription, while in the fragment 'pupphā' is retained and in the infinitive of the inscription, ending in-tave (samādapayitave I, ālādhayitave IV, paṭicalitave IV, palihaṭave IV) while the fragment has 'bhūṃjitaye'. The first difference is without significance as naturally the forms ending in-

'āni' and 'ā' existed side by side. Of-course, the second one creates difficulties. Even the later AMg. cannot decide anything here as: ttae' may as well be traced back to 'taye' as to 'tave', although I take the first as more probable⁽⁸⁸⁾.

In spite of this single variation for which I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation, I believe, I may be allowed to mark that the dialect of the pillar-inscription, also is Ardhamāgadhi, is highly } probable. It appears to me that the numerous conformities between this and the old AMg. of our fragment necessitates this conclusion⁽⁸⁹⁾. The inscriptions show that this dialect was used as court-language under Aśoka. But probably, long before Aśoka, it was already the colloquial language of the North Indians. The Jainas assert that Mahāvira published the statutes in AMg. and the old Suttas were composed⁽⁹⁰⁾ in the Ardhamāgadhabhāṣā. This may be right if old AMg. is meant by AMg. That the later AMg. already existed at the time of Mahāvira, if the inscription is not considered as conclusive, will be refuted by the language of our drama which is evidently later than the period of Mahāvira, and the formation of the Jaina-canon. Buddhists consider Māgadhi as the language of the founder of their religion⁽⁹²⁾. But it is quite unlikely that Buddha who was active at the same time and at the same place as Mahāvira should have used another language but that. Therefore, in this case, Māgadhi will be an inaccurate term for old AMg. The Buddhistic canon also was originally composed in old AMg. Besides, the Ardhamāgadhisms point in the Pali canon which are probably much more numerous in the verses where it was not so easy to put them aside by translating into Pali, as has been yet supposed. According to our fragment the old AMg was far nearer to Māgadhi than the later AMg. The chief difference was in the use of 's' instead of 'ś'. But just gradually it adapted itself more and more to the western dialect. That, in any case it is false, (as usually happens) to mark the dialect of the pillar-inscription as Māgadhi or to consider the later Māgadhi as a development to the dialect of the pillar inscription, that even, side by side to this dialect there existed already at Aśoka's time a real old Māgadhi that proves the Inscription in the Jōgīmārā cave at the Ramgarh hill⁽⁹³⁾ In Aśoka-characters it stands here :—

Śutanuka nama, devadaśikiyī,
taṁ kamayitha Balanaseye,

Devadine nama, lupadakhe,
 In fuller writing it would run :—
 Śutanukā nāma, devadāsikkī⁽⁹⁶⁾
 taṁ kāmāyittha Bālānaśeye,
 Devadinne nāma, lūpadakkhe,

‘Śutanukā’ was the name of a temple-girl. She loved the man from Benares, Devadina by name, the ‘rūpadakṣa’⁽⁹⁷⁾.

As Boyer and Bloch already emphasised, that the language of this inscription is Māgadhī, more accurately old Māgadhī and is throughout in agreement with that of our fragment. In this inscription, Pischel sees the oldest Indian evidence of the custom which has come down even to the benches of our audiences, to perpetuate the sweetheart's name by incision in wood or by engraving in stone. This explanation therefore seems to me quite likely because the inscription is metrical though overlooked till now. This already reveals the divisions in three rows. Every line has 17 mores. The lines after ‘nama’ in the first and third line, perhaps indicate the ‘caesura’. Then the ‘caesura’ would stand in the first line after the eighth more, in the third, after the 10th more. In the second line it might stand after the eighth more as in the first line. I am therefore convinced that the inscription, just as the repetition: Śutanuka nama devadāsikkī, refers to the exhibitions in the frescoes of the cave. Perhaps this explained the middle picture in which one perceives a man under a tree with lady-dancers and musicians to the left and a procession to the right.

In the dramas of the later time AMg. is not found (Pischel 17). That it had its place in old time as also here follows from the evidence of Bhāratīya—Nāṭyaśāstra where in 17,50 (Sāhitya-darpaṇa—p. 173,3) AMg. is marked as the language of the servants, Rājputs and Sreṣṭhins.

The dialect of the Courtesan and Vidusaka.

I can find no principal distinction in the language of the courtesan and Vidūṣaka ; certain peculiarities will be discussed later. It is well-known that the same relation exists between the language of these two persons in the later drama. According to several theorists the Nāyikā, speaks of course Śauraseni, and Vidūṣaka Prācyā (Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,51, Sahityad, p. 172, 21 ; 173,4). But Pischel(22) already referred

to it, that Hemacandra (4,285) ascribe direct Śauraseni to Vidūṣaka, and that Prācyā in any case differs from Śauraseni just a little. The point is scarcely just about a few peculiarities in the stock of words of which we find one, again in our fragment though not quite the exact. According to Mārkaṇḍeya, the expression of satisfaction 'hī hī bho' is used by Vidūṣaka, Hemcandra (4,285) stipulates hī hī in the same sense. In 95, we find 'hī hī aho sam....., even with shortening in the first syllable and without the following 'bho', which according to Pischel (commentary to Hem. 4, 285) is never missing in later time. I have therefore put the passage from 95, under the speeches of Vidūṣaka although it cannot be held as absolutely sure that it belonged to him.

The speech of Vidūṣaka and the courtesan is together dealt with in the following.

The following passages are expressly marked as speeches of courtesan Magadhavatī:—

4....pekḥhāmi dassanam pi me imassa dullabha(m).....(aṇ)ñ.
ki(la).....

4. naṇ kahin te geham.
8. naṇ kiṇ karoṭha.
8. kiṇ khu dāni suradavimaddakkha(ma)....
8. kāmāṇ khu aḍaṇḍāraho piyo tava tu maha.....
8. vayassa tuvaṇ sakkhī
16. Somadatta.....
37. sādhu ala(m) a.....
51. aniyuttā.....
103. bhaṭṭā iy(aṇ)⁽⁹⁹⁾)

Besides this further instances are put forward:—

8.(a) (rhe)ssi daṇḍam⁽¹⁰⁰⁾).
8.avikkhittena hidaṇa ādamso dhārayitavvo.
8. (d)(ā)l(i)mavīcūritena sasovaccalarucakena lavalīphalāvad-
amsaṇ āsavam balakāreṇa pā(ya)....
8.v. mm. hañña(n)tu puttā (ca) n(a)tt(i)kā ca.

In the following passages Vidūṣaka is marked as the speaker:—

4. (j)(i)(ṇ)ṇuy(ā)ṇ⁽¹⁰¹⁾). bh....
5. na....
6. yadi evaṇ la....

13. bho Dhānañjaya sigghaṃ miṭṭhamiṭṭhaṃ....

14. (upa)j(jh)āya e....

22. kim puna vi(c)cha(d)ḍa(m)....

29. ai kilesa gambhiravaṭu(m)....

30. kathaṃ kathaṃ nilussa(sam)....n nāma mā tāva mā tāva
dāsiputta akitañña yaṃ vinītacapalamadhura....

34. āma yathā tuva(n) dh....

36. etaṃ sadisaṃ.....

52. bho u....

61. suṭṭhu bhavāṃ bhaṇāti....

69. dukkarakar(e)

84. (ha)....

88. na hi upaj(jh)ā(ya)....

Here are yet more :—

4. ..(ṭ) ṭh. (a)cchariyaṃ ⁽¹⁰²⁾).

22. ..(g)i(r)i(yagga)(sa)mājaṃ (ga)mis(s)i... ⁽¹⁰³⁾).

22. ..(sa)ndesena ⁽¹⁰²⁾).

30. ..yo pi tāva ta(s)sa Dhānañjayo yassa pasādena ajjha(y)
....lakena yo....(ni)russāsaṃ kariya idāni kathañci ussasati ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾).

30.(ī)yaṃ pavahaṇapotaṃ vāhayamā....im (v)icchaḍḍa-
yamāno viya sahakā.... ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ —).

30.i (p)ā(ṭa)yamāno viya m(u)h(u)ttena rā....ke sassirī-
kam p(u)nnāli(m).... ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ ..

30.t....s....ṇ. n(īl)(a)(k)u(ṇa)yadāma v(iy)(a)....
r(a)s(e)ka(jani)tā duguṇ-a(b)u(bh)u(k)kh(ā) ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

30. disitṭhaniṭṭhānaṃ sottiyakulasabhāvasa....t.

Somadattena na bhuttaṃ bhuñjamāno ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾....

34.(nn) oddhvānañ carāmi bubhukkhitoḥ bahu dadhi pi ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

.....

95.hihī aho sam.... ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

I am next giving a grammatical review.

Vowel-System :—‘ṛ’ becomes ‘i’ : sadisaṃ 36, akitañña 30, hidayena 8, n(a)tt(i)kā 8, ‘ai’ is retained as ‘ai’ 29. ‘au’ becomes ‘o’ : sasovaccalarucakena 8.

Before reduplicated consonants the vowel is shortened : acchari-
yaṃ 4, sakkhī 8, sigghaṃ 13, muhuttana 30. ‘ī’ becomes short in
‘dāni’ 8, ‘idāni’ 30.

Consonant-system :—

Simple consonants. 'ḍ' becomes 'ṭ' : dāḷima° 8, p(u)nnāḷi° 30 ; 'ṭ' appears also in 'lavai° 8, ṭakena 30. 't' becomes 'd' only in surada° 8. ('r' becomes 'l' only in 'nilussā(sam) 30). 'ś' becomes 's' : ādama° 8, sandesena 22, sadisaṃ 36, kilesa 29, sigghaṃ 13, °siṭṭha° 30, compare the mode of dealing of 'ra' and 'sa', 'ṣ' becomes 's' : gamis(s)i...22.

Combined consonants, explosive with explosive. 'kt' becomes 'tt' : aniyuttā 51, bhuttaṃ 30, 'pt' becomes tt : avikkhittena 8, n(a)tt(i) kā 8.

Explosive and nasal, jñ becomes ññ : akitañña 30, rtm becomes tum : °vaṭum 29.

Combinations with 'y'. 'dy' becomes 'y' ; j(i)ṇṇuy(ā)n 4. 'dhy' becomes 'jjh' : ajjhaya...30, (upa)j(jh)āya 14, upaj(jh)ā(ya) 88. 'ny' becomes ññ : aññ 4, haññantu 8. 'vy' becomes 'vv' : dhārayitavvo 8 'sy' becomes ss : gamis(s)i...22. 'sy' becomes ss : imassa 4, vayassa 8, yassa 30, tassa 30.

Combinations with 'r' 'rc' becomes 'cc' : sasovaccalarucakena 8. 'rṇ' becomes 'ṇṇ' : j(i)ṇṇuy(ā)n. 4. 'rt' becomes 'tt' : muhuttana 30 ; and ṭṭ : bhaṭṭā 103. 'rtm' becomes tum : °vaṭum 29. 'rd' becomes 'dd' : °vimadda° 8 ; also becomes dḍ : vicchaddāyamāno 30, vicchaddam...22. 'ry' becomes 'riy' : acchariyaṃ 4 ; gi(r)i(yagga) 22. 'rl' becomes ll : dullabha(m) 4. 'rś' becomes 'ss' : dassanam 4. 'rh' becomes 'rah' : adaṇḍāraho 8 ; but (a)rhessi (?) 8. 'gr' becomes 'gg' : gi(r)i(yagga)° 22. 'ghr' becomes 'ggh' : sigghaṃ 13. 'tr' becomes 'tt' : putt(ā) 8, dāsiputta 30, sottiya° 30. 'pr' becomes 'pp', with simplification of the initial : pavahana° 30, pasādena 30, pekkhāmi 4, piyo 8. 'sr' becomes 'ss' with simplification of the initial : 'sottiya'° 30 ; also becomes 'ssir' : sassirikam 30.

Combination with 'l'. kl becomes kil : kilesa 29.

Combination with 'v' : 'tv' becomes 'tuv' : tuvaṃ 8, tuvaṇ 34. ('dhv'-remains, written 'ddhv' : °ddhvānañ 34.) 'sv' becomes 'ss' with simplification of the initial : °kulasabhāva° 30. 'tsv'(cchv) becomes ss : nirussāsaṃ 30, ussati 30, (nilussā(sam) 30).

Combination of sibilant with explosives and nasals. 'śc' becomes cch : acchariyaṃ 4. 'śk' becomes 'kk' : dukkara° 69. 'śt' becomes 'tṭh' : mitṭhāmitṭhaṃ 13, °siṭṭha° 30. 'śth' becomes 'tṭh' : nitṭhānaṃ

30, suṭṭhu 61. 'kṣ' becomes 'kkh' : pekkhāmi 4, sakkhi 8, avikkhittena 8, °bubhukkh(ā) 30, bubhukkhitoḥ(to) 34, °vimaddakkhama° 8.

For 'vi' appears 'u' in 'duguṇā' 30. Loss of syllable in khu 8 and 'nai' kahin 4, nai kin° 8. Transposition in 'viya' 30.

Initial and final Sandhi.—

—'as' becomes 'o' : ādaṃso 8, kilesa 29, Dhānañjayo 30, piyo 8, adaṇḍāraho 8, pātayamāno 30, vicchaḍḍayamāno 30, bhuñjamāno 30, bubhukkhitoḥ(to) 34, dhārayitavvo 8,—'ās' becomes 'ā' : putt(ā) 8, n(a)tt(i)kā 8. 'ar' becomes '-a' : puna 22. '-os' becomes '-o' : bho 13. 52.

Original 'm' appears before vowel, semi-vowel and 's' as Anusvāra : °āvadamsaṃ āsavam 8, alaṃ a° 37; evaṃ la° 7, 'yaṃ vinīta° 30, 'potakaṃ vāhayamā.....30, tuvaṃ sakkhi 8, etaṃ sadisaṃ 36, °niṭṭhānaṃ sottiya° 30. It appears before explosives and nasals as anusvāra: kathaṃ kathaṃ 30, nirussāsaṃ kariya 30, kathaṃ nilussā-(saṃ) 30, °iyaṃ pavahana° 30, bhuttaṃ bhuñjamāno 30, sigghaṃ miṭṭhā° 30 ; as class-nasal : nai kahin 4, nai kin karotha 8, kin khu 8, kāmaṃ khu 8, °samājaṃ gamis(s)i....22, (°ddhvānaṃ carāmi 34), kahin te 4, tuvaṃ dh.... 34, dassanam pi 4, kim puna 22, sassirikam p(u)nnāji 30, āsavam bala° 8, also bhavāṃ bhaṇāti 61. In pausa 'm' is retained: geham 4; anusvāra appears: daṇḍam 8; acchariyaṃ 4. Dropping of 'm' is found in 'dāni' 8, idāni 30.

-'āṇ' becomes '-āṃ'(āṃ): bhavāṃ bhaṇāti 61, 't' drops: kathañci 30: tāva 30.

Initial 'a' drops in pi : dadhi pi(?) 34, °yo pi 30, dassanam pi 4.

Initial 'i' drops in 'dāni' 8; but 'idāni' 30. (Initial 'a'—drops after '-o' m °nnoddhvānaṃ 34.) -a is elided before 'u' in j(i)ṇṇuy(ā) n. 4

Inflections —

Nouns :—'a' stems. Sing. Nom. m. adaṇḍāraho 8, piyo 8, ādaṃso 8, kilesa 29, Dhānañjayo 20, vicchaḍḍayamāno 30, bhuñjamāno 30, bubhukkhitoḥ(to) 34, dhārayitavo 8.

Acc. m. daṇḍam 8, °phalāvadamsaṃ 8, āsavam 8, °potakaṃ 30, °samājam 22, nirussāsaṃ 30. Nom. n. 'dassanam' 4, geham 4, acchariyam 4, sadisaṃ 36, Nom. n. or acc. m. n. miṭṭhāmiṭṭham 13. sassrikam 30, °niṭṭhānaṃ 30, bhuttaṃ 30. instr. avikkhittena 8, hidaena 8, °vicūritena 8, sasovaccala -rucakena 8, balakāreṇa 8. sandesena 22, pasādena 30, muhuttaṃ 30, Somadattena 30 Voc.

vayassa 8, Dhānañjaya 13, (upa)j(jh)āya 14, dāsiputta 30, akitañña 30.
Plur. Nom. m. putt(ā) 8, n (a) tt (i) kā 8.

ā—stems. sing. nom. °janitā 30, °bubhukkh (ā) 30.

i—stems. sing. nom. or acc. n. dadhi 34.

u—stems. sing. nom. or acc. n. bahu 34.

ṛ—stems. sing. voc. m. bhaṭṭā 103.

an—stems. sing (acc eg. m. °ddhvānaṃ 34). nom or acc. n.
°kuvalayadāma (or °maṃ) 30.

in—stems sing. nom. m. sakkhī 8.

vat—stems. sing. nom. m. bhavāṃ. 61.

Pronouns. Pers. pron. sing. gen. 'me' 4. sing. nom. tuvaṃ 8. 34.
gen. tava 8, te. 4.

Demonstrative pro. tad : sing. gen. m. tassa 30. etad : sing. nom. n.
etaṃ 36. idam : sing. nom. f. iy (aṃ) 103. gen. m. imassa 4.

Rel. pron. sing. nom. n. 'yam' 30. gen. m. yassa 30.

Interro. pron. sing. nom. acc. n. kiṃ 8. 22

Numerals :—'du' in duguṇa° 30.

Verbs :—Present tense. 1. sing. carāmi 34, pekkhāmi 4. 3. sing.
ussasati 30, bhaṇāti 61. 2. plur. karoṭha 8. Future. 3. sing. (?)
gamis (s)i. . . . 22 Aorist. 3. sing. (?) (a) rhesi 8.

Pass. Imperative. 3. plur. haññantu 8.

Participle. Prest. med. bhuñjamāno 30, vicchadḍayamāno 30,
pātayamāno 31, vāhayamā. . . . 30. Past. part. pass. aniyuttā 51,
avikkhittena 8, bhuttaṃ 30, °siṭṭha° 30, vinīta 30, °janitā 30, °vicūritena
8, jiṇṇu° 4, bubhukkhitoḥ (to) 34. verbal. adj. dhārayitavvo 8.

Absolutive 'kariya' 30.

Adverbs, conjunctions, interjections.

sādhu 37, sigghaṃ 13 ; nāma 30 ; kāmaṃ 8, suṭṭhu 61, alaṃ 37 ;
idāni 30, dāni 8 ; puna 22 ; kahiṃ 4 ; kathaṃ 30 ; kathañci 30, yathā 34,
evaṃ 7 ; kila 4 ; tāva 30, khu 8, ca 8 ; pi 4, 30, 34 (?) ; tu 8 ; hi 88 ;
na 30, 88 ; mā 30 ; naṃ 4. 8. yadi 7 ; viya 30 ; āma 34 ; ai 29, bho 13.
52 ; hihī 95 ; aho 95.

Two passages from Vidūṣaka's speech require closer review,
before we can undertake to determine the dialect. In Vidūṣaka's
language 'r' is retained (gambhīra 29, madhura° 30, dukkarakare. . . .
69, acchariyaṃ 4, gi (r)i (yagga)° 22, nirussāsaṃ 30, kariya 30, rā. . . .
30, sassirikam 30, °r(a)seka 30, carāmi 34) ; likewise in the courtesan's

language (karotha 8, surada° 8, adaḍḍāraho 8, (a)rhessi 8, dhārayitavvo 8, °vicūritena 8, °rucakena 8, balakāreṇa 8). Just once 'l' occurs in 'nilussā (saṁ); this is all the more striking as the same word appears with 'r' in the very preceding line. The use of 'nilussāsaiṁ' in Vidūṣaka's mouth accounts for the peculiar circumstances. As already mentioned at the beginning of 30, Vidūṣaka explains how Dhānañjaya again breathes a little after lying without any breath. According to the dialect of Gobaiṁ, another retorts that he does not breathe (nilussāsaiṁ kaleti). Thereupon, Vidūṣaka cries out:—katham katham nilussā....., evidently: "How, how, does he not breathe?" Thus he literally repeats what Gobaiṁ had said and thereby retain the dialect of this person. Therefore the form 'nilussā(saṁ) is not considered as Vidūṣaka's dialect.

Similarly the passage "°noddhvānañ carāmi bubhukkhitoḥ" in 34 is to be judged. 'Bubhukkhitoḥ' is naturally an absurd form. Originally 'Bubhukkhitaḥ' seems to have been there; the later improver must have certainly read 'bubhukkhito'. The passage shows two Sanskritisms, ddhvānañ with dropping of initial 'a' after 'o' and retaining of the compound—consonant 'dhv' and bubhukkhitaḥ with the ending—'aḥ'. Now I have already marked above that evidently the whole passage is the parody of a preceding Sanskrit strophe: 'svasthoddhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ'. Thus the form ddhvānañ' is purposely taken up here from the Sanskrit speech serving as a model, while 'bubhukkhitaḥ' is probably just an omission; at least this was the improver's opinion. In any case, both the forms need not be considered to determine the dialect.

According to the practice of the later drama we should expect Śauraseni as the dialect of Vidūṣaka and the courtesan. In fact, the dialect in which both the persons speak in our drama agrees with Śauraseni in three main points, in retaining of 'r', in the change of the terminal '-as' in '-o' and in the coincidence of the three sibilants in 's'. But it also agrees in more particular subjects. In Śauraseni 'kṣ' in prekṣatē becomes 'kkh' in M. AMg. JM. to cch. (Pischel 321). Here we find 'pekkhāmi'. As in all other dialects in Ś, 'ṛḍ' in the root 'chard' and its derivations becomes 'ḍḍ' but in the root 'mard' and its derivations to 'dd' (Pischel 291). In the fragments, we have --vicchaddam,...., vicchaddayamāno, but °vimadda°. In spite of partial vowel⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ (Pischel 195); in Ś, reduplicated consonant appears

equivalent to SK. 'saśrika'; here we have 'sassirikam'. According to Hem. 4, 275, the third person sing. of future tense in Ś terminates in—issidi, and according to Pischel (520) such forms are used in South—Indian manuscripts. In the fragments we have gaimis(s)i... , a mutilated form from which luckily the characteristic. (ssi)' can be clearly judged⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. In Ś 'ya' is just the only ending governing an absolutive; 'tvā' occurs only in the two absolutives 'kadua' from 'kṛ' and 'gadua' from 'gam', Hem. 4, 272, however allows also 'karia' (Pischel 581 ; 590). Here we have 'kariya'⁽¹¹²⁾. In Ś⁽¹¹³⁾ the present tense of 'bhan' takes after the ninth class (Pischel 514). Same is the case here as 'bhaṇāti' shows. The stem 'bhartr' in Ś forms a vocative bhaṭṭa⁽¹¹⁴⁾ (Pischel 390). The same form occurs here. According to Hem. 4, 265, the nom. sing. of 'bhavat and 'bhagavat' terminates in—vañ (Pischel 396). Here we find 'bhavām'. Of all prākṛit dialects only Ś has retained (iam)⁽¹¹⁵⁾ (Pischel 429) the feminine of pron. 'iyam'; in 103, most probably (iy....) is to be completed to 'iyam'. The particle 'via'⁽¹¹⁶⁾ is characteristic of Ś (Pischel 336); in the fragments we repeatedly find 'viya'. Characteristic of Ś is the farther use of 'dāñim'; with the dropping of initial 'i' in the sense of "now, well, then"⁽¹¹⁷⁾ (Hem. 4 277 ; Pischel 144). We find the same word in 'kin khu dāni' in 8. In Ś, the original 'i' is retained initially at the beginning of the sentence and in the sense of 'now' also in 30; 'nirussāsam kariya idāni kathañci ussasati.

But side by side with these conformities, a series of deviations are also found here. Nowhere, a dropping of consonant is found, nowhere 'n' becomes 'ṇ' or initial 'y' to 'j'. The change of the tenuis to media is found once only in the word, 'surada', to which we will allude later. The long vowel is not shortened here before terminal anusvāra. The mode of dealing of the terminal 'm'⁽¹¹⁸⁾ further varies.), and those of the groups 'jñ' and 'ny' which in Ś becomes ṇṇ (Pischel 276 ; 282) here just becomes 'ññ'. Of particular diverse forms I name the interjection 'ai': in Ś it is usually 'ai' also 'ai' (Pischel 60) is even permitted by Hem. 1, 169; (a) rhessi⁽¹¹⁹⁾ and 'adaṇḍaraho': in Ś, 'i' may be expected as partial vowel (Pischel 140); j(i)ṇṇuy(ā)n, with strange simplification of reduplicated consonants: in Ś 'dy' also become 'jj' in this word: duguṇa°: Ś has always 'di°' for Sans. 'dvi' , where 'du' appears, it is an omission

according to Pischel (436): *nīrussāsam*, *ussasati*: *Ś*. has *ūsasida* (Pischel 327^a); '*tuvam*': *Ś* has *tumam* (Pischel 421); *tava*; Pischel 421 allows '*tuha*' only valid for *Ś*; *karotha*: *Ś*, retained the strong stem in the pres. tense of '*kr*' as little as any of the later prakrit dialect; '*dāni*' '*idāni*': *Ś* has '*dāṇim*' '*idāṇim*' with nasalised terminal.

Most of these variations is to be explained as antiquities, almost all can show it. The undoubted antiquities are the retaining of the medial consonants, of the long vowel before terminal *anusvāra*, of '*n*' and initial '*y*' and of particular forms '*nirussāsam*, *ussasati*', which is the first step to the form with simplification of '*ss*' and lengthening of the preceding vowel, '*ai*', which is placed with the language of '*Girnār* and *Udayagiri*—inscriptions' '*thaira*^o, *thairesu*, *thairānam*' (G. IV, 7; V, 7; VIII, 3), *traidasa* (G. V 4), *airena* (U I, 1), *airasa* (U.VII,1). side by side to *karotha*, *tuvam* and *tava*. As to the assimilation of *jñ* and '*ny*' to *ññ*, there is nothing to hinder the assumption that in *Ś*. *jñ* and '*ny*' become '*ññ*' and further to '*ṇṇ*'. Likewise in *Ś* '*udyāna*' may have become at first, as in Pālī to '*uyyāna*'⁽¹²⁰⁾ and even later farther on to '*ujjāna*'. It contains '*duguna*^o, (*a*)*rhesi* and *adaṇḍāraho*, *dāni* and *idāni*. The form '*duguna*' cannot be the first step of the phonetic law of '*diuṇa*'. But it is well nigh possible that just in this word '*dvi*' become '*du*' on account of the following (*u*) and that subsequently under the influence of the other compounds with '*di*'—*duguna* became transposed to '*diuṇa*'. Further, *duṇia* is really found in *ś* (Pischel 436). *adaṇḍāraho* shows another semivowel similar to the later *ś*. But we may accept without any hesitation that the nature of the tone of the semivowels wavered in the older time here in the same way as in other words. If '*a*'*rhesi* is correctly completed, it follows, that '*rh*' was spoken even without a semivowel or at least was used to be written thus. The forms '*dāni*' and '*idāni*' agree with those of Pālī and of the inscription. The dropping of the terminal nasals is common before vowels as well as consonants (Pischel 350) in the other prakrits:—M. AMg. JM. JS, and the forms with and without nasal, might originally have been side by side even in *Ś*, till later the nasalised form completely prevailed. Moreover, the manuscripts often write '*dāni*' without *anusvāra* (Pischel-Hem. IV, 277). It seems to me that the last-named variations may be explained in one or the other way, in any case much too insignificant as they fail to carry any weight against

the agreement among which I call special attention to 'pekkati, bhanāti, and the future from 'ssi'. In my opinion, *in the dialect of the courtesan and Vidūṣaka of our fragment we have the first step of Saurasenī of the later dramas, which I should like to mark again as old Saurasenī.*

As already remarked above, the medial consonants are retained without any change at this stage of Śaurasenī the only exception is formed in 'surada° in the speech of the courtesan: kiñ khu dāni suradavimaddakkhama°. In the manuscript a gap is left after 'dāni, which indicated as in other instances that the sentence is to end after 'dāni' and a new sentence to begin with 'surada°. Suradavimaddakkhama could only be the beginning of a 'ārya;' surado° should stand here in the verse. The idea is natural that as in prose so in verse another dialect may be used, as in the later dramas Saurasenī and Māhārāṣṭri is alternately used (Sāhityad. p. 172, 21 f.). But it is much too uncertain to assume that we have in 'suradavimaddakkhama' perhaps a first step of Māhārāṣṭri. It is also rendered unlikely by the form 'vimadda°' because, in any case the word would run 'vimaḍḍa' in the later M. (Pischel 291). We have therefore to find in 'surada°, just the first example of change of sound, which was later fully established.

The dialect of the less important prakrit roles.

Of the other prakrit passages, what we can assign with certainty or probability to Mādha° to Tāpasa to śramaṇa and the maid is unfortunately very little.

Mādha° speaks :—

38. kiñ nu khu diṭṭhapuru (vo)...

71. (h). (t)u(m).

The Tāpasa is described as speaker in :—

34. ekan tu icchāmi bhaga (va).

48. Ki.....

But surely also the following belongs to his speech because the words are in a scene between him and Vidūṣaka and cannot belong to the latter :—

34.....(ū) kāhāma tti.

Śramaṇa says :—

40. na khu e(ke) (122).

The maid is described as the speaker :—

13. bha....

44. ..(th) ā (ati)ṇ....pa....

Surely the following is her speech because it is in the conversation between her and Dhānañjaya and cannot be the speech of the latter:—

13. mhi.

The retention of the tenuis in 'ekan' and °thā atip. pa. and the handling of the terminal 'm' in 'ēkan tu' and in 'kin nu' which is naturally just the defective spelling for 'kin nu', ⁽¹²³⁾ prove that the dialect of these persons in any case stands on the same footing as the dialects known to us up till now. Māddha's dialect seems to agree with that of the courtesan and Vidūsaka, as being old Śauraseni. In any case the 'r' speaks for it in 'puruvo', which eventually also puruve.... or could have ⁽¹²⁴⁾ been 'puruvvo' exactly as in later Ś (Pischel 139). 'Nu khu' varies from Ś. In the later Ś, 'kkhu' stands after a short vowel, and 'e' and 'o' which are shortened, after long vowel 'khu'. The same rule holds good for Mg, while in M. AMg. JM. JS 'hu' (from khu') stands after all vowels (Pischel 94). I do not believe that therefore we have to deny the Śauraseni character to Mādho's dialect. In our fragment, we find even 'na khu' in 40, in Śramana's speech and in the anonymous passages 'na khu' 10, °pi khu 78, (d)ukkho khu 29, (ma)hanto khu 50 but °t. kkhu 79 ⁽¹²⁵⁾, that are later discussed. In all these cases, the question is of old Ś, as far as it is at all possible to give an opinion. Thus it appears that the shortening of terminal 'o' before 'khu' was not yet in vogue here and that on the whole the reduplication of initial after monosyllabic words as 'nu', 'na' 'pi' was retained. It is perhaps not a mere chance that in the Mss. also in Ś and Mg. 'khu' so often becomes 'hu' ⁽¹²⁶⁾ just after 'ṇa' and 'ṇu'. In verses 'hu' is generally acknowledged after vowel.

The language of Tāpasa is perhaps old-Amg. The form 'tti' is vulgar prākṛit (Pischel 143). The decisive factor is 'kāhāma'. The forms derived from the stem 'karṣya'- occur often in Amg, in M, and J.M. (Pischel 533), of which the last two is debarred here, the first hardly coming in question. An exception is the ending which in Amg., as in all other prakrits, is not '-ma' but '-mo'; only in verses '-ma' also occurs (Pischel 520). In the fragment we find 'gamissāma' (48; 87) just twice among the anonymous ones. As the ending of the 1st pers. plur. of future is 'ma' also in Pali, so we may ⁽¹²⁷⁾ consider it as the older

one. That later, when it stood only for past tense according to statement, was replaced by the present '-mo' is fully conceivable. Likewise the present-tense ending has come into use also in the optative and imperative ⁽¹²⁸⁾, (Pischel 463. 470).

The dialect of 'Śramaṇa' is wholly uncertain. It has been referred above, in respect of 'na khu'. The dialect of the maid is similarly uncertain. The only word lending support to the definition is 'mhi'-Sk 'asmi', ⁽¹²⁹⁾. 'mhi' occurs in M. JM. JS, and Ś while 'aṃsi, 'mi' are formed in Amg and 'smi' in Mg. Therefore old Śaurasenī is to be considered here. But it is to be considered if the text shows only 'mhi' also for Mg. (Pischel 498).

The dialect of the anonymous prakrit passages.

There are still a great number of passages that cannot be assigned to any definite speaker:---

3. ..kayyaṃ patikayya(m) vā.
3. ..hakagopitṭhe.
4. ..dunite ⁽¹³⁰⁾) makkaṭaṇ tã..
7. ..paricitatye ⁽¹³¹⁾ mag(g)a...
7. ..koṭṭe avappapākārapa (r)ikhaṃ nagaraṃ nive (s) ⁽¹³²⁾.
8. ..īya(m)ā(na)ṇ (a).i(m). (t).(k).ṇ. (d).(k).āma ⁽¹³³⁾.
9. ..o kin (d)āni bhavāṃ...
10. ..puññān(āṇ) aṇḍalim pi karayamānā na jivanti.
10.(rama)ṇīyaṇṇu kāraṇam na khu vākaṭeyī ⁽¹³⁴⁾). kalahassa viya nissirikā u(p)....
11.ta(m) yeva ahaṃ pekkhitum icchāmi.
12.yañ ca atthamaṭṭā ⁽¹³⁵⁾ (k)i....
12.viya.
13.(l)olo vā tti.
14.upadeso edisassa bambhaṇajanassa anuggāhako bha....
15.(pavva)jitassa vacana(m) suṇiya apuru..
17.nāṃ (a)ñcitacaraṇakāṇṭakilānāṃ asan. ivi ⁽¹³⁶⁾)....
17.cayo na māṇsam pītī ke(va) laṇ adha a ⁽¹³⁷⁾)....
18.(m). r. y. app(ā)v(a)kk(a)y(a)k(a)ss(a) ...
19.yādisā la....
19.(s)appatu (ay)e ...
20.(dhara)ṇitalāto ji....
20.s. t. (dā)(s)(īp)u(t)t(a) etañ jana, g.

20.uttā (rāgā) ⁽¹³⁸⁾)y. yava(u)kurap(i)takena....
20.m ambavallariṃ kaṇṭhe lagiya madanaghuṇṇama....
20.i (y). aj(j)a (j)i....
21.m ovuṭṭhakesarabhari t)....
21.ekaṃ mahisaṃ mi....
22.m (m)akena ālapiyati e(va)m....
24.yamatikaṇṭaṃ rū ⁽¹³⁹⁾)... .
24.ssa avatthānena....
25.(k)ā aṅgule(yi)....
27.cuṇṇayamāno.
27.ni(v)asiya ajja Rājagahavisayaṃ āgatā iminā yeva saja..
27.ummāṃsena⁽¹⁴⁰⁾) sarīreva.
29.(d)ukkho khu piyavinābhāvo.
29.(ṇa)m pucchatha suṇiya yadi kuppita....
23.gilāyamānaṃ ajiv(i)kasama (ṇaṃ)....
32.mukhavannena añ (ñ)aṃ viya..
33.yamānā v(i)ya meghā....
33.(du)vāre hasante keḍamānaṃ ca mpe⁽¹⁴¹⁾)....
34.lā viya savvakā (la)m....
35.yo atthi tti....
36.yantelika⁽¹⁴²⁾)....
37.tiyati⁽¹⁴³⁾).
37.(m)ānā hotu.
37.laddhe kaṇṭhi ci....
41.gehe (na)t. avāro⁽¹⁴⁴⁾)ti....
41.(v)ijānanto vāvattakāyyo.
41.vinikkhitti silāpa ...
43.tena rūpeṇa pavvajissiti.
43.ha āvus(o) (ab)bhu....
44.jjuke diḍhaṃ khu appā....
45.giriyaḅḅasamājassa....
48.(m). etassa maggassa yathāva....
48.(a) bhimūkhā gamis(s)sāma.
49.ttānam piyañ ca.
49.(n). kuppati ci....
50.(ma)hanto khu āmodo gaṇikākule sabahu....
51.anukampiy(e) h. m....
51.(y)i...(k)ā(m)ā (k)āṭṭiyati⁽¹⁴⁵⁾).

52.padumarāgaṃ uttarā (y)...
 52.(bhamati⁽¹⁴⁶⁾) ntapatito.
 53.(ka)ṇṭhabaddhe kaṇṭhaviṭṭhit....
 57.nti hi yañ ca te hettha⁽¹⁴⁷⁾).
 57. ... (pa)(v)v(a)jita atta....
 57.ssitāye--ta(va)⁽¹⁴⁸⁾).
 59.ye ubhayattha d(i)ssat(i).
 59.(ā)vu(s)(o) (n)(a) (r)ū(p)(a)(l)(a)kkh(a)ṇṇān(i) (a)(n)u(vat).
 t(an)t(i)....
 60.parihitāye parivā i....
 60.himayo⁽¹⁴⁹⁾) kosikī maha....
 62.(pa)vvatālim ālokema ajjāp(i) ca Rājagahaṃ....
 63.s...t. (k)..(t) umbajjhat(i)⁽¹⁵⁰⁾)...
 66.ñ. j(i) (ṇ)ṇu(y) ⁽¹⁵¹⁾)....
 71.(pa) (ri)ggen(h)iya (a)....
 73.n(a) s(a)r(i)r(e)ṇ (a) (m)....
 74.ni ettha vi (k)....
 77.i p (u)na dā....
 78.j. pi⁽¹⁵¹⁾) khu naṃ....
 79.t. kkh(u) gahitan nā(m)....
 81.gatā mhi pucchi....
 81.vihāpeh(i)....
 82.tti....
 84.k(i)m ayaṃ jānāti tahim u....
 84.idīye girikagga....
 87.āvaṇ gamis(s)āma.
 88.vipayogo santāp(e)....
 88.hāye jīṇṇapokka(riṇi°)....
 90.(u)pajjhāya yathā....
 91.raṃ baṃmbhaṇa....
 91.himāye....
 91.mi bhotī na....
 92.ddh, pavvajit....
 94.ccha chijjis(s)i....
 64.ruh(i) ss(i).
 96.k. ssa....
 97.to ayan tassa pa....
 97.tikayya. i(y)ā....

98.nājano parija(ne)⁽¹⁵³⁾)....
 100.hi vayan (k)al(l)aṃ yeva....
 100.(upa)jjhāya yathā tathā....
 102.parivattan(t)i....
 106.yojiyo (s)e....
 107.(s)o naccati....
 113.vo eso tum(h)āk(am)....
 117.kam pekkha....
 117.ñ kappatta
 118. ...ai bh (o)....

Besides these, the stage directions are :—

4. tato vaṭṭi (y)....
 11. nikkha (nto or °ntā)....
 13.(ṇ)ārūdhake(na) nikkhantā sarvve ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.
 16.s. pi pavahaṇaṃ āgacchati nirvvaṇṇi(y)(a) ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾)....
 45. (ma) ṇḍapaṃ pavisati ..
 45. (n)ik(kh)antāubhaye....

I give here also a grammatical review.

Vokal-system:—

‘ṛ’ becomes ‘i’ : edisassa 14, yādisā 19 dissati 59, dīdhaṃ 44, °gopiṭṭhe 3; becomes u: ovutṭha° 21, pucchatha 29, pucchi....81; becomes ‘a’ : vāvattu° 41, gahītan 79, naccati 107, Rājagahaṃ 62, Rājagaha° 27, but gehe 41; becomes e: (pa)riggeṇhiya 71. ‘ai’ is retained to ‘ai’ 118. ‘au’ becomes ‘o’ : kosikī 60. ‘e’ appears for ‘i’ : edisassa 14, keḍamānaṃ (?) 33. ‘u’ becomes ‘o’ : °pokkha(riṇi) 88.

The vowel is shortened before reduplicated consonants:—kayyaṃ 3, patikayyaṃ 3, °tikayya° 97, magga° 7, maggassa 48, bambhaṇa° 14, baṃmbhaṇa 91, amba° 20. nikkha (nto or °ntā) 11, nikkhantā 13, 45, yavaṅkura° 20, girikagga °84, jiṇṇa° 88, jiṇṇuy....66, °ghuṇṇa° 20, cuṇṇayamaṇo 27. Exceptions :—vāvattakāyyo 41, gatā mhi 81, vā tti 13, atthi tti 35. ī is shortened in dharanītalāto 20, dāni 9.

Consonant-system.—

Simple consonants. ‘l’ appears in (pa)vvatāliṃ 62, °lā 34, but ḍ in keḍamānaṃ (?) 33. ‘n’ appears in karayamaṇā 10, instead of ṇ, but ṇ stays on in ‘suṇiya’ 15.29, pavahaṇaṃ 16, bambhaṇa° 14, baṃmbhaṇa 91.

‘bh’ becomes ‘h’ in hotu 37. ‘y’ becomes ‘v’ in āvus(o) 43. 59.

ś becomes ‘s’ : upadeso 14, yādisā 19, edisassa 14, kosikī 60, pavisati 45, nives....7, sarīreṇa 27. 73, silā° 41, compare also the mode

of dealing of 'śy' and 'śr'. ś becomes s: mahisaṁ 21, °visayaṁ 27, eso 113, also compare the handling of śy.

'y' is reduplicated in 'vāvattakāyyo' 41.

Consonant-compounds. — Explosive and explosive. 'pt' becomes tt: vinikkhitte 41. 'bdh' becomes ddh: laddhe 37.

Explosive and nasal: 'dm' becomes 'dum': pēdumarāgam 52. Nasal and nasal. 'nm' becomes 'mm': ummāṁsena 27.

Compounds with 'y' 'ny' becomes 'ññ': puññān-(āṁ) 10. 'ty' becomes 'cc': naccati 107. 'dy' becomes 'jj': ajja 20. 27, ajjāpi 62, 78 (?), chijjisi....94; becomes 'y' .) j(i) ṇṇu y(āna°) 66. 'dhy' becomes 'jjh': (u) pajjhāya 90, (upa)jjhāya 100. 'ny' becomes ññ: aññāṁ 32. 'py' becomes 'pp'. kuppāti 49; compare kuppita° 29. 'ly' becomes ll: (k) allāṁ 100. 'vy' becomes 'vv' with the simplification in the initial: vāvatta° 41. 'śy' becomes ss: dissati 59. 'śy' becomes 'ss': pavvajissiti 43, gamissāma 48. 87; chijjissi....94. 'sy' becomes 'ss': kalahassa 10, edisassa 14, °janassa 14, °jitassa 15. app(ā)v(a)kk(a)-y(a)k(a)ss(a) 18, °samājassa 45, etassa 48, maggassa 48, tassa 97.

Combinations with 'r', 'rk' becomes 'kk'. makkaṭṭaṇ 4. 'rg' becomes 'gg': magga° 7, maggassa 48. 'rṇ' becomes 'ṇṇ': °ghuṇṇa° 20, cuṇṇaya-māno 27, °vaṇṇena 32, jiṇṇa° 88, jiṇṇuy. 66. 'rt' becomes 'tt': pariva-ttanti 102, rth' becomes' tth: atthi 35. 'rp' becomes 'pp' sappatu 19. 'ry' becomes 'yy' kayyaṁ 3, patikayyaṁ 3, °tikayya° 97; becomes 'riy': giriyaḡga° 45. 'rv' becomes 'vv': savvakālaṁ 34, (pa)vvaṭāṁ 62, (but sarvve 13, nirvvarṇṇiy(a) 16). 'kr' becomes 'kk': app(ā)v(a)kk(a)-y(a)k(a)ss(a) 18. with initial simplification: keḍamānaṁ (?) 33. 'śkr' becomes 'kkh': nikkhantā 13. 45, nikkha(ṇto or °ntā) 11. 'gr' becomes 'gg': anuggāhako 14, girikagga° 84, giriyaḡga° 45; compare (pa)-riggeṇhiya 71. 'tr' becomes tt: (dā)s(i)putt(a) 20. 'pr' becomes pp: °vappa° 7, with initial simplification: patikayyaṁ (?) 3, pavasati 45, pavahanaṁ 16, pavvajissiti 43, pavvajit 91, °pākāra° 7, vipayogo 88, pekkhituṁ 11, pekkha 117, piyañ 49, piya° 29, 'br' becomes 'bb' with initial simplification: bambhaṇa° 14, bambbhana 91. 'bhr' becomes 'bbh' with initial simplification: bhaṇati 52. 'mr' becomes 'mb': amba° 20. 'vr' becomes 'vv': pavvajissiti 43, (pa) vvajita 57, pavvajit 91. 'śr' becomes 'ss' with initial simplification: ājivikasama(ṇaṁ) 29, suṇiya 15. 29. 'śsr' becomes 'ssir': nissirikā 10.

Combinations with 'l'. 'lp' becomes' pp: app(ā)v(a)kk(a)y(a)k(a)ss(a) 18, kappatha 117. 'gl' becomes 'gil': gilāyamaṇaṁ 29.

Combinations with 'v', 'dv' becomes 'dūv': dūvāre 33.

Combinations of sibilant with explosives and nasals. 'ṣk' becomes 'kkh': jīṇṇapokkha (rīṇī°) 88. 'ṣt' becomes 'tth': ovuṭṭha° 21. ṣṭh becomes tṭh: °gopiṭṭhe 3, °viṭṭhit 53. 'sth' becomes tth; avatthānena 24. 'ḥkh' becomes 'kkh': (d) ukkho 29. 'kṣ' becomes 'kkh': pīkkhitum 11, pekkha 117, vinikkhitte 41, °l(a)kkh(a)nāṇ(i) 59. 'ṣm' becomes 'mh': tum-(h)āk(aṁ) 113. 'sm' becomes mh: gatā mhi 81.

Combinations with h. 'hm' becomes 'mbh' (ṁmbh): bambhaṇa° 14, bammbhaṇa 91. 'hṇ' becomes ṇh: (pa)riggeṇhiya 71.

'ava' becomes 'o': bhoti 91; hotu 37; ovuṭṭha° 21, but avatthānena 24. 'aya' becomes 'e': ālokeṇa 62, vihāpehi 81. Loss of syllable in 'khu' 10. 29. 44. 50. 78, kkhu (?) 79. Transposition in 'viya' 10.12.32.33.34.

Initial and Terminal Sandhi.

-'as' becomes '-o': upadeso 14, °cayo 17, āmodo 50, vipayogo 88, °vinābhāvo 29, vāvattakāyyo 41, anuggāhako 14, lolo 13, (d)ukkho 29, °jano 98, cuṇṇayamāno 27, °patito 52, (ma) hanto 50, vijānanto 41, eso 113, tato 4, °talāto 20.

-'ās' becomes 'ā': meghā 33, (a)bhimukhā 48, karayamānā 10, °yamānā 33.

-'ar' becomes 'a': puna 77.

-'os' becomes '-o': bho 118.

Original 'm' appears as anusvāra before vowel: °iyamānaṁ a° 8, pavahaṇaṁ āgacchati 16, °nāṁ aṇcita° 17, °kaṇṭakilānāṁ asa° 17, ke(va)-laṁ a° 17, (pa) vvataliṁ ālokeṇa 62, pekkhitum icchāmi 11, gilāyamānaṁ ājivika° 29, padumarāgaṁ uttarāy 52, °visayaṁ āgatā 27, as m: tahim u° 84. It appears as anusvāra before semivowel and 's': °ta (in) yeva 11, (k)allaṁ yeva 100, patikayyaṁ vā 3, aññaṁ viya 32, vacanaṁ suṇiya 15.

It appears as anusvāra before explosives and nasals: ayaṁ jānāti 84, °parikhaṁ nagaraṁ nives... 7, kāraṇaṁ na 10, kayyaṁ patikayyaṁ 3, ahaṁ pekkhitum 11, maṇḍapaṁ pavasati 45, °raṁ bammbhaṇa 91, ekaṁ mahisaṁ mi2...1, as class-nasal: ramaṇiyaṁ ṇ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾, kāraṇaṁ 10, °vallariṁ kaṇṭhe 20, vayaṁ (k)allaṁ 100, °u kappatha 117, diḍhaṁ khu 44, °avaṁ gamissāma 87, yaṇ ca 12. 57, piyaṇ ca 49 etaṇ jana...2), makkaṭaṇ tā...4, ayaṇ tassa 97, kin dāni 9, gahitaṇ nāṁ, 79, añjalim pi 10, māmsaṁ pīti 17, °ṇaṁ pucchatha 29, °ttānaṁ piyaṇ 49, °kaṁ pekkha. 177.

In pausa 'm' is retained: kim 84 (156). Dropping of 'm' is found in 'dāni' 9.

-āy becomes ām: bhavām 9, 't' drops: yathāva (?) 48.

Initial 'a' drops in 'mhi': gatā mhi 81, and in 'pi': añjalim pi 10, but 'ajjāpi' 62. Initial 'i' drops in 'dāni' 9. Initial 'i' drops with reduplication of consonant in 'tti': vā tti 13, atthi tti 35, 'tti' (?) 82. Before initial 'e' 'y' appears in yeva: iminā yeva 27, (k)allān yeva (100), ta (m) yeva 11. Before 'u', 'a' drops in j(i)ṇṇuy(āna) 66.

Inflections.

Nouns.

'a' stems. Sing. nom. m. 'lolo' 13, upadeso 14, anuggāhako 14, (d)ukkhā 29, °vinābhāvo 29, vāvattakāyyo 41, āmodo 50, vipayogo 88, °jano 98, cūṇṇayamāno 27, °patito 52. Acc. m. 'makkaṭṭha' 4, mahisaṃ 21, °visayaṃ 27, savvakālaṃ 34, padumarāgaṃ 52, gilāyamanāṃ 29, keḍamānaṃ (?) 33. Acc. n. pavahaṇaṃ 16, maṇḍapaṃ 45, vacanaṃ 15, avappapākaraparikkhaṃ 7, nagaraṃ 7, Rājagahaṃ 62, Nom. or acc. n. kayyaṃ 3, patikayyaṃ 3, ramaṇiyaṃ 10, kāraṇaṃ 10, māṇsaṃ 17, Nom. n. or acc. m. n. ke (va) laṃ 17, 'didhaṃ' 44, piyaṃ 49, gahitaṃ 79. Instr. °pītakena 20, avatthānena 24, ummāṇsena 27, saṇṇeṇa 27. 73, °vaṇṇeṇa 32, rupeṇa 43, °ārūḍhakena 13. Abl. dharanitalāto 20. Gen. kalahassa 10, edisassa 14, °janassa 14, app(ā)v(a)kk(a)y(a)k(a)ss(a) 18, °samājassa 45, maggassa 48, (pavva) jitassa 15. Lok. °gopiṭṭhe 3, koṭṭe 7, kaṇṭhe 20. 37, duvāre 33, gehe 41, gaṇikākule 50, laddhe 37, vinikkhitte 41, °baddhe 53. Vok. (dā)s(i)putt(a) 20, (u)pajjhāya 90, (upa)jjhāya 100, baṃmbhaṇa 91, (pa)vvaṇṇita 57. Plur. nom. m. meghā 33, abhimukhā 48, karayamāṇā 10, °yamāṇā 33, nikhantā 13. Nom. or acc. n. °l(a)kkh(a)ṇāṇ(i) (?) 59. Gen. °nāṇi 17, °kaṇṭakilāṇaṃ 17, puññāṇa (ām) (?) 10.

ā-stems. Sing. nom. nissirikā 10, gatā 81, °māṇā 37. Instr. dat. abl. gen. or loc. anukampāy(e) 51, °ssitāye 57, parihitāye 60, °hāye 88, °himāye 91, paricittatāye (for °tāyei) 7. Plur. nom. 'nikkhaṇṭā' 45 (for dual).

i-stems. Sing. acc. m. añjalim. 10. Acc. f. (pa)vvaṭṭalim 62. °vallarim 20.

īṇ-stems. Sing. nom. vākaṭeyi(?) 10, kosiki (?) 60, bhoti 91,

in-stems. Sing. Nom. m. atthi 35.

at-stems. Sing. nom. m. (ma) hanto 50; vijānanto 41. Acc. m. hasantaṃ (?) 33.

vat-stems-Sing.nom. m. bhavāṃ 9.

Pronouns.

Pers. pron. Sing. nom. ahaṃ 11. Plur-nom. 'vayaṃ' 100. Sing. gen. te (?) 57. Plur. gen. tuṃ (h)āḥ(āṃ) 113.

Demonst. pron. tad-Sing. instr. m. tena (?) 43. Gen m. tassa 97. etad-Sing. nom. m. eso 113. Acc. m. or Nom. acc. n. etaṃ 20. Gen. m. etassa 48. idam Sing. nom. m. 'ayaṃ' 84. 97. Instr. m. or n. iminā 27.

Rel. Pron. Sing. acc. m. or Nom. acc. n 'yaṃ' 12 (?) 57.

Interr. pron. Sing. nom. acc. n. kiṃ 9. 84 (?).

Pronominal adj. Sing. acc. m. or nom. acc. n aññaṃ 32. (Plur. nom. m. sarvve. 13) plur.nom. f. (?) ubhaye 45.

Numerals :—1. acc. m. 'ekaṃ' 21.

Verbs:—Prest. 1. Sing. mhi 81; icchāmi 11. Sing. bhamati 52, pavisati 45. kuppati 49, naccati 107, āgacchati 16, jānāti 84. 2. Plur. (157) kappatha 117, pucchatha 29. 3. Plur. jīvanti 10, a(n)u(vat)t(an)t-(i) 59, parivattanti 102.

Imperative :—2. Sing. pekkha 117, vihāpehi 81. 3. Sing. 'hotu' 37, sappatu 19. 1. Plur. ālokema 62.

Future :—3. Sing. pavvajissiti 43. 1. Plur. gamissāma 48, 87. Aorist. 3. Sing (?) °ruhissi 94

Pass prest. 3. Sing. dissati 59, kāṭiyati 51, °ṭiyati 37, ālapiyati 22. Future. 3 (?) Sing. chijjissi....94.

Participle: Pres. act. hasantaṃ (?) 33, vijānanto 41. Prest-med. keḍamānaṃ (?) 33, gilāyamānaṃ 29, karayamānā 10, cuṇṇayamāno 27, °yamānā 33, °mānā 37. Prast-pass. °iyamānaṃ (?) 8 Past. Pass. vini-kkhitte 41, vāvatta° 41, ovuṭṭha° 21, °baddhe 53, laddhe 37, °ārūḍhakena 13, nikkhanta 13. 45, nikkha (nto or °ntā) 11, gatā 81, āgatā 27, °vitthit. 53, parihiṭṭāye 60, añcita° 17, °patito 52, (pa)vajita (57), pavvajit. 92, (pavva) jitassa 15, kuppita° 29, gahitaṃ 79, jinṇa° 88, jinṇue° 66.

Verbal. Adj. kayyaṃ 3; °kayya° 97.

Absolutive. suṇiya 15. 29, lagiya 20, nivasīya 27, (pa)riggeṇhiya 71, yojiya 106, (nirvvarṇṇiy (a) 16).

Infinitive. pekkhituṃ 11.

Adverb, Conjunctions, Interjections,

(k) allam 100; ajja 20.27; ajjāpi 62.78. (?) ; dāni 9; puna 77; tahiṃ 84; ettha 74; ubhayattha 59; tato 4; yathā 90.100, yathāva 48 (?) ; tathā 100; evaṃ 22; tti 13.35.82 (?) ; khu 10.29.44.50.78; kkhu (?) 79; ca 12.33.49.57.62; pi 10; vā 313; hi (?) 57 100; na 10.17.59; yeva 11.27.100; yadi 29; viya 10.12.32.33.34.; ai 118; bho 118.

There is no doubt about it that the dialect of the anonymous passage and the stage-directions agree in all the essentials with old. Ś of the courtesan and Vidusaka, if we do not keep the fact concealed that owing to the paucity of more fragments, this coincidence in particular cases is perhaps only apparent. Most of the characteristic aspects of Śaurasenī pointed above, present themselves. e. g. the retaining of 'r' the transition of 's' and 'ṣ' to s, of 'as' 'to' 'o', the change of 'kṣ' to 'kkh' in pekkhitum, pekkha, the future ending '-issiti' in pavvajissit and 'chijjis(s)i....., the absolute ending 'ya' in suniya, lagiya, yojya, pariggeṇhiya, nivasiya, the particles 'viya' and 'dāni'. Besides these, there are other peculiarities. The particle 'eva' is found in Ś⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ as the forerunner of 'y', which becomes 'j' (Pischel 336) like every initial 'y'. In the fragments 'yeva' is thrice verified. In 'dvāra', the semi-vowel 'u' always comes in 'S'⁽¹⁵⁹⁾, e.g. (duvāra) (Pischel 139.298). In the same way the form is read here. The instrumental sing. of pro. 'idam' is read always in S⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ 'imiṇā' (Pischel 430). Here 'iminā' is found in nom. plur. of the first person of pronouns, Vararuci 12, 25, allows 'vaam' in Ś, which otherwise appears (Pischel 419) only in Amg., Dh, JM. and P., of which the last three do not possibly come⁽¹⁶¹⁾ into any consideration here. According to Pischel the word only is seen in bad manuscripts; in our fragments 'vayam' is found in 100. The grammarians permit in Ś in nom. acc. plur. of the neutral 'a' stems the ending āni⁽¹⁶²⁾ (Pischel 367). We have here 'lakkhaṇāni', which is of course partly completed.

The variations remarked above, that prove as signs of old Ś, repeat themselves for example, the retaining of all initial consonants without any change, the keeping of the dental⁽¹⁶³⁾ n) and the initial 'y'. This has still stayed in 'yy' originating out of 'ry'; in this case, even Hem. 4,266 (Pischel 284) also allows of course 'yy'. See the remarks about jīṇṇu (yāna°) p. 49, aññam is a new example of the change from 'ny' to 'ññ', puñña(nām), to the parallel change from 'ny' to 'ññ'. The handling of terminal 'm' is in most cases similar as in Sanskrit;

but it agrees many a time even with the later use⁽¹⁶⁴⁾. New examples of the retaining of the long vowel before terminal anusvāra are the genitive 'nām and kaṇṭakilānām. The lengthening (of the vowel) is retained initially in 'māmsam', 'ummāmsena', which was of course corrected only by the reviser to 'māmsam', ummāmsena. The interjection 'ai' is still found here. The forms 'khu' and 'gamissāma' have already been dealt with before p. 51. The old ending ma, occurs also here in the 1st per. plur. of imp.-ālokema. The later 'ś'. only knows—mha⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ (Pischel 470 similar to Mg. The following variations⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ are further new. In 'ś' the long vowel is shortened (Pischel 96), before the initial forms of 'as' 'to be' with reduplicated consonants; we have here 'gatā mhi'. The long vowel is shortened in the same way before 'tti' (Pischel 92); here we find vārtti, atthi tti. We may note without any hesitation an antiquity in the retaining of the vowel—lengthening. No doubt, 'dissati' as against ś, disadi (Pischel 54.) are more antiquated; so are gahitarh against ś 'gahida' (Hem. I, 101), for which the manuscripts however often write 'gahida' (Pischel 564); edisassa, against ś. erisa side by side with idisa (Pischel 121); tum(h)ak(am) against 'tumbānam' (Pischel 422) in ś in the same way as appear in all other dialects. According to Hem, I, 129, in 'prātra', 'r' just changes into 'a' if it stands at the end of a compositum. Here we have 'gopiṭṭhe. Hemacandra's rule is based on later standardisation, the manuscripts do not even always follow it and write also at the end of the compositum as here 'piṭṭha' (Pischel 53). According to Pischel (476; K. B. 8 141), in ś 'bhu' is inflected in the imp 'hohi'; 'bḥodu', 'homba', 'hodha', 'hontu'. We find here hotu'. Even if the paradigm established by Pischel is said to be right, evidently 'bhohi', 'ḥodu', 'bhontu' are used⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ one will have to suppose that a period of fluctuation preceded the fixing at least in the difference in the 3rd pers, sing. and plur. which can be based only on grammatical arbitrariness. 'Our 'hotu' would have originated out of it⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ In ś, the dental m 'prati' is generally cerebralised (Pischel 218); we find here 'patikayyam'. We can hardly conclude anything out of it, because in the first place in ś, the dental is sporadically retained (thus, in paṇṇā and in the original 'padi'; Pischel 220), and secondly 'patikayyam' might have finally in view 'patikāryam', 'nikkhanta'. The past. part, pass, appearing thrice in the stage-directions is a knotty point. ś admits

only the form without aspirate, while 'kkh' is found in Amg. J. M. and usually also in M. (Pischel 302). That the stage-directions, perhaps were composed in old Amg is debarred by the 'tāto' in 4 and the 'r' in °ārūdhakena in 13. In all likelihood it is therefore probable that original reduplicated forms existed in old Ś similarly as in M, of which the later is given up. A second complicated form is 'bambhaṇa' ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, we already have met with, in the dialect of the villain. Similar to it we expect here in 'bamhaṇa' the later, Mg. Ś form; bambhaṇa is the Amg. form ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ (Pischel 250, 267, 287, 330). But it concerns Amg. neither in 14 nor 91 ⁽¹⁷¹⁾. We must either accept that 'bambhaṇa' has penetrated in Ś of our fragment from Amg or that 'bamhaṇa' was originally the right form in Ś which was later superseded by 'bamhaṇa' probably taken out of M.

The home of 'Ś', cannot be arrived at here, in regard to the relation of the old Ś of our fragments to the language of the western Inscriptions, especially the inscriptions of Mathurā. Besides this, it would be necessary to find out the really spoken dialect next to the Mathurā Inscriptions which are mostly imperfect attempts to write Sanskrit.

The poetry in old Prakrit.

Thus the grammatical research proves that the three dialects apart from Sanskrit that were used in our fragments stand on the phonetic standard of Pali and that the dialect, used in the older inscriptions, proves to be the forerunner of the three later prakrit dialects M., Amg, and Ś. It is clear that this result is of the greatest importance for the history of the Indian languages. The dialects which are of the same phonetic standard as that of Pali for which the name of old ⁽¹⁷²⁾ prakrit is proposed by me, can be proved only in the inscriptions besides hitherto in the Buddhistic scripts. Our fragments irrefutably show that they were also used in the pre-classical period in the peculiar beautiful literature. But partly the same follows even from the inscriptions. Bühler long ago referred about it, that we have got in old-prakrit a small 'gadya kāvya', in the Nāsik-Inscription No. 18, which belonged to the second century after Christ. The Praśasti (panegyric) of Khāravela of Kālīṅga at the entrance of Hathigumpha-caves ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ is a still older 'gadya

kāvya'. It belongs to the second century before Christ. There must have been also a lyric in old-prakrit. Chance has kept for us a strophe in old-prakrit in the Sitābengā caves on the Rāmgarh hill which does not vary in their style from later lyrical strophes as it is very difficult to understand⁽¹⁷⁵⁾. It is written in the oldest Brāhmi form. The old-Māgadhī strophe, dealt above, about the love of Devadinna and Sutanukā, which may also appear so wretched as a poetical production, belongs finally to it, if I have rightly judged the metrical character of the inscription. Thus there was also a poetry in old-prakrit up till the second century after Christ.

Whatever their beginnings were, this poetry, in any case is no more a folk-poesie since the second century before Christ. The kāvya-poetry in Sanskrit was side by side to that in old-prakrit. Bühler referred the Sanskrit-Kāvya in favour of the second century after Christ. The Gīrnār-inscription of Rudradāman⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ originating out of this period, was extensively dealt by him. Already before Bühler, Kielhorn had pointed out to numerous fragments of Sanskrit strophe in the Mahābhāṣya as an evidence of a kāvya in the time before Christ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾. Now, the material of evidence has considerably increased. We have just the first half in the original, from the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghōṣa which Bühler came to know in 1890 only in Chinese translation. It is a Mahākāvya, as good as the 'Kumārasambhava' or the 'Raghuvamśa'. We have Aśvaghōṣa's Sūtrālāmkāra also in Chinese translation. But Huber⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ has proved also in Divyāvadāna fragments thereof and now I have traced out new fragments of the work in a palm-leaf manuscript of Gupta period. Thus there can be no doubt that the Sūtrālāmkāra was composed in Kāvya-style. It is a 'miśra-kāvya'. According to my opinion probably our dramas also originate at the same time after the first century before Christ. But the Sanskrit-kāvya must be still considerably older because Buddhacarita is certainly younger than the Rāmāyaṇa. This can be concluded just from the style of the works : an absolute sure outside evidence is added to it : in the 24th exposition of the Sūtrālāmkāra the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhārata⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ directly mention, and in such a way from which it can be concluded that they delighted to quote from the same authority⁽¹⁷⁹⁾. The younger poetry in old-prakrit stands under the influence of this

Sanskrit poetry. Bühler has shown this with regard to Nāsik-inscription. The same may be evident for the inscription of Khāravēla, although the style is here even essentially simpler⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. The influence of kāvyā was less in the prākṛit passages of our drama. This is partly based in regard to fact; the Alankāras play naturally a more insignificant role in the prose dialogue of the drama. It will partly be the demerit of the fragmentary tradition. The Sanskrit passages sufficiently show that the poet of the drama is after all a Kavi.

But it holds fast that the old prākṛit was used from the second century before Christ to the second century after Christ. This opinion over the age of Māhārastrī, of the main dialects among the middle-prākṛits was obtained firstly by Westergaard⁽¹⁸¹⁾, and after him quoted by Jacobi⁽¹⁸²⁾ and Bloch⁽¹⁸³⁾, gains new weight. According to these learned men the Māhārastrī professed by Vararuci must be younger than the inscription as it represents a younger phonetic standard than the language of the inscription. Pischel (32) has explained this opinion as false; it may be quite absurd to make chronological conclusions out of the inscriptions to the prakrits, which means according to my terminology Middle-prakrit, because the prakrits are only artificial languages existing side by side with the folk and court-languages. So long we knew the old prakrit only as a documentary language, this argument might have seemed correct. Now, it is useless to argue, where we find that the old-prakrit was also used as literary language and in artistic poetry and that in our drama strictly in the passage in which Middle prākṛit later appears. We would rather accept, that if the Middle prakrits did not originate just after the 2nd century A.C., it was thus grammatically fixed and came into literary use. These suppositions would of course be impossible, if they who identify the prakrit grammarian Vararuci with the Vārttikakāra Katyāyana⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ had been right. But all that can be quoted in favour of the common passages, is very vague and even Pischel who intercedes vehemently for it must acknowledge at last that it may be taken as surely in conspicuous. In my opinion, it is directly excluded by the use of old-prakrit in our drama, which nobody will be tempted to trace back to the period before the Vārttikakra.

The time of Composition and Author.

We must put before us finally the question, when and by whom these dramas are composed. The lower limit of the time of composition will be determined by the age of the manuscripts. Therefore, in my opinion, it is the beginning of the Christian era; others who place Kaṇiṣka later will put it off till the middle of the 2nd century. A.C. But in any case, the period of origin was still a few decades before this limit. The numerous omissions of writing which are shown by the manuscripts, presume a long time of written tradition.

On the other hand the later corrections show that these dramas may not have been an ephemeral product. Several manuscripts must have existed at the time of the reviser because his corrections and addenda are often in such a way that they in no case are the outcome of his own mind. Thus for example, on the original version in 8. "Magadhavati atitikṣṇaḥ khalu daṇḍaḥ", hardly an exception in itself can be taken. If the reviser inserts 'āyam, so he might have borrowed that only from a second Ms.

The names of the authors—or perhaps we are to say the author—we do not know but we can fix at least the circle to which he belonged. I consider it as self-evident that he was a Buddhist. Further, the fact goes that Buddha and his scholars speak Sanskrit in the drama. The author who was himself a Buddhist has surely put into the mouth of the founder of his religion the language in which the canon accepted by him was composed and which was therefore sacred to him. But the canon of the Sarvāstivādin' was composed in Sanskrit. We can also assert that the author belonged to the school of 'Sarvāstivādin'. Further, circumstance determines that the other fragment-manuscripts that have been found together with the drama, so far it was possible till now to define, are works originated from this school.

Now, we know, that during the time of Kaṇiṣka's rule the attempt to use the style and forms of artistic poetry existing so long, to Buddhistic matters was made in this school with splendid result. Asvaghosh's Buddhācarita and Sūtrālaṃkāra are works which do

justice to all requirement that a Kāvya demands. Our dramas show the same endeavour; Buddhistic substances are used in the forms of artistic drama. Therefore we would hardly go out of our way *if we look out for the author among the circle of poets whose prominent centre was 'Aśvaghosa'.*

A THEORY OF PREDICTION.*

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Dariyā Sāhab, a saint-poet of the Nirguṇa School of Hindi, flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A. D. He was born at Dharkandhā near Dumraon in Shahabad. He was a prolific writer who wrote not less than nineteen volumes of poetry

One of these poems is Jñāna-svarōdaya (popularly known as 'Gyāna-sarōda') which gives, besides many things, a detailed analysis of the science and art of 'Sarōda' which may be broadly divided into:—

- I. The Doctrine of the Elements ('*tattu*').
- II. The Doctrine of the Breaths ('*sura*').
- III. The Art of Prediction.

The chapter on Prediction is particularly interesting and the system and precision with which the art has been worked out are worthy of notice.

A Dariyapanthi Sadhu is supposed to be possessed of an extraordinary intuitive faculty by which he can establish a correlation between the breaths of his nostril on one side and the five elements, their by-products and manifestations on the other, consequently rendering himself capable of pronouncing predictions 'which never go false'.

The following table gives a brief account of the five elements and their correlated by-products:

*Based on a MS. which has not been published as yet.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE ELEMENTS.

Elements (<i>tattva</i>).	Their abode.	Their colour.	Their fivefold Prakṛti (manifestation nature).	Indriyas corre- sponding to the Elements.	Objects of the Indriyas.	The Guṇas correspond- ing to the Element.
Agni (Fire).	Mind (<i>citta</i>).	Black	Idleness, Thirst, Sleep, Hunger, Impetuosity (<i>teja</i>).	Eyes	Greed and Atta- chment.	Rajas.
Pāvana (Air).	Navel (<i>nābhī</i>).	Green	Movement, Music, Strength, Hesitation, Dispute.	Nose	Odour and Fragrance.	Tamas.
Prthvī (Earth).	Heart (<i>hṛdaya</i>).	Yellow	Bone, Marrow, Hair, Skin, Vein.	Mouth	Eating, Drink- ing.	Sattva.
Nīra (Water).	Forehead (<i>bhāta</i>).	Red	Blood, Semen, Bile, Saliva, Sweat.	Taste and Genetic Organ.	Sexual Act, Flavour.	..
Ākāśa (Ether).	Head (<i>śīṣa</i>).	White	Greed, Attachment, Suspicion, Fear, Shame.	Ears	Sound, Curse.	..

N. B.—(a) The 'Indriyas' (senses) are eleven, out of which Eyes, Nose, Tongue, Skin and Ears are primarily cognitive (*jñāna-pradhāna*); and Hands, Feet, Genetic organ, Defecating organ and Mouth are primarily active (*karma-pradhāna*).

"Mind is the eleventh and the sovereign of all. He who conquers it belongs to the fold of saints." There are again five postures (*Mudrā*) in relation to the five senses and they are respectively, 'Gocari', 'Khēcari', 'Bhēcari', 'Cancari', and 'Ummuni'—technical names indeed.

(b) The successive evolution of the five elements from the primordial element, 'ākāśa', is as follows: *ākāśa—pāvana—agni—jala—pṛthvi*.

II. The Doctrine of the Breaths ('Sura'). The five elements elaborated above dwell in the threefold breath from the nostrils, viz., the left, the right and the simultaneous (i. e., both the left and the right passing together) and are distinguished by their peculiar trend or movement :

if	it	is	Agni,	the	Sura	will	shoot	upward ;
if	"	"	Pavana,	"	"	"	"	obliquely;
"	"	"	Pṛthvī,	"	"	"	"	move in circles and whirls;
"	"	"	Nira,	"	"	"	"	move downward ;
if	"	"	Ākāśa,	"	"	"	"	move fitfully,
								now to the left, now to the right.

The table given below shows the scheme of 'Sura' as worked out in the treatise.

'Sura' Surname.	The artery directly connected with the 'Sura' (A Third name of the 'Sura').	Nostril or Nostrils.	Indwelling deity.	Correlated constellation.	Correlated fortnight.	Correlated days.	Nature of work followed by the 'Sura'.
Canda	Gauṅā	Left	Moon	Vṛścika, Siniha, Vṛṣa, Kumbha.	Śukla.	Sōma, Budha, Guru, Śukra.	Steady, (Thira).
Bhānu	Yamunā	Right	Sun.	Karka, Mesa, Makara, Tula.	Kṛṣṇa.	Ravi, Mangala, Śani.	Unsteady (Cara).
Sukhamanā	Sukhamana (Sugumṇā).	Both (Simultaneous).	Both.	Kanyā, Mina, Mithuna, Dhanā.	..	..	..

Col. 7 needs an explanation: Though on the whole the Śukla Pakṣa belongs to Canda (Moon), yet even

with regard to this *pakṣa* the following points are to be noted :—

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd dates	are	dominated	by	Moon.
„ 4th, 5th and 6th „	„	„	„	Sun.
„ 7th, 8th and 9th „	„	„	„	Moon.
„ 10th, 11th and 12th „	„	„	„	Sun.
„ 13th, 14th and 15th „	„	„	„	Moon.

Conversely, during the *Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa*:—

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd dates	are	dominated	by	Sun.
„ 4th, 5th and 6th „	„	„	„	Moon.
„ 7th, 8th and 9th „	„	„	„	Sun.
„ 10th, 11th and 12th „	„	„	„	Moon.
„ 13th, 14th and 15th „	„	„	„	Sun.

Col. 9 also needs explanation. Works or enterprises are of two kind : Steady (*Thira*) or unsteady (*Cara*). The steady works are :

Providing for ornaments, clothes, marriage or medicines, love, concentration, meditation, writing book, building house or palaces, planting orchard or garden, digging wells, formal entry into a castle, sowing seeds. All these are steady works and are fruitful if done during the dominance of the left 'Sura'. As to the directions to which one should start during the predominance of the left 'Sura', they are South and West.

The unsteady works are: Lending or borrowing, eating, studying, keeping accounts, going to a place desired by a friend or foe, engaging in battle, begging, purchasing beasts of burden or weapon, enjoyment or bath with moderation. These works are fruitful under the right 'Sura'. The journeys favourable are towards the East and the North.

III. PREDICTIONS.

The saint or devotee should try to find out the indications of prediction in the morning of the first date of *Śukla Pakṣa* (bright half) after careful observation, and—

if 'Pṛithvī' flows in 'Canda,' then the year would pass fairly; if 'Nīra' flows in 'Jṅgalā', then the year would pass excellently; if 'Nīra', and 'Pṛithvī' flow in 'Piṅgalā' then the year would pass tolerably; if 'Agni' and 'Vāyu' flow in the right 'Sura', then there

would be drought or untimely rain ; if 'Ākāśa' flows in both the 'Suras,' then there would be famine and want of yields in the fields.

On every occasion the moment a questioner puts a question, the predictor should at once observe his own particular 'Sura' that is flowing at the time and base the predictions accordingly.

If the respective constellation, fortnight, day and date are all to the point, the prediction is bound to come true, and the greater the amount of disagreement between them, the weaker grows the force of the prediction.

Details are given below :

Circumstances of questioning.	Predictions.
If a pregnant lady suddenly questions,	
(a) and the 'Sura' is right then	a son would be born safely,
(b) if „ „ is left, then—	a daughter ;
(c) if the breath flows irregularly,	there may be something wrong.
(d) if both 'Suras' flow uniformly,	twin sons will be born.
If somebody questions,	
(a) and 'Canda' flows,	} then the enterprise would be fruitful.
(b) The constellation, day and date are auspicious,	
(c) and he is standing tilted up to the left,	
If the questioner—	
(a) is standing below, behind or to the right,	} then something auspicious is sure to take place.
(b) the 'Sura' is right, and	
(c) the constellation etc. are auspicious,	
During the dominance of 'Sukha-manā'	} there would be mishap and, therefore, nobody should stir out, but should devote himself to meditation.

Circumstances of questioning.	Predictions.
If the 'Bhānu' flows in Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa, first date, and morning, then—	some gain.
If the 'Candra' flows in Śukla Pakṣa, first date, and morning, then—	extreme happiness
If the Pakṣa does not agree (i. e., with the 'Sura') then—	some loss.
If the 'Sukhamanā' flows on the first morning in any Pakṣa, then—	loss and disputes in that Pakṣa ,
If the 'Ganges', 'Yamunā' and 'Sarasvatī' are all dry and breath flows from the mouth, then—	death.
If the 'Piṅgalā' flows for eight Yāmas, then—	death in three years.
If the 'Piṅgalā' flows for sixteen Yāmas, then—	death in two years.
If the Sun flows for one fortnight, then—	death in six months.
If for one month the 'Candra' flows in the night and the 'Sūra' in the day, then—	death in six months.
If 'Piṅgalā' flows for one month, then—	death in two days.
If the 'Candra' flows night and day for four days, then—	., ., a thousand days.
The greater frequency of the 'Candra' leads—	nearer and nearer to death.
If the 'Candra' flows for twenty days, then—	the body is in the noose of death.
If the 'Sukhamanā' flows for one Yāma, then—	death certain.
If the Piṅgalā flows in the night, and the 'Iṅgala' in the day, then	one may expect the 'departure of the Swan' (i. e., of the soul).
If the 'dhruva maṇḍala' (i. e., the upper bridge of the nose) is not visible, then—	death after two fortnights.

SOME TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS ABOUT SASARAM

By SHAM BAHADUR

I was trying to find out the origin of the name of my home town Sasaram or Sahasram, District Shahabad. Francis Buchanan says:—"The name of the town is very variously written, nor is the derivation very clear." But I have not been able to find any authentic or documentary evidence except some traditions, and trust the scholars of future with more time at their disposal will succeed where I have failed.

Now let us take traditions and see how much help we can get from them. In Sanskrit Sahasra] means thousand, Aram means (repose). Aram was the special term used by the Buddhists to designate a monastery. So the literal meaning of Sahasram is a monastery of thousand monks. Similarly Aramnagar was the name of the present town of Arrah given by the Buddhists. Of course the town of Sasaram was brought at its present site by Sher Shah. The old town was near the hill called Kota Ghat, where enough curios are found even to-day, after a good shower in rainy season. Near the old town site a life-size image of Vishnu was found, while a man was ploughing his field, about 45 or 50 years ago. It is now installed in a Temple just outside the town, called that of Badri Nārāyaṇa. My old dear friend late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal said that it belonged to 10th or 11th century. It is worth a visit.

About two miles from the present town there is a hill known as "Chandan Shaheed" where was found a dated and very important inscription of Aśoka, carved in a small cave, known as *Chirāgdān*. It reads : (A) Devānāmpriya (speaks) thus. (B).....years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*) (C) But (I had) not been very zealous. (D) A year and somewhat more (has) passed since.....(E) And men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by-me) mingled with the gods. (F) (For) this is the fruit (of zeal). (G).....cannot be reached by (persons of) high

rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and that even my borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration. (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will be made to progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half. (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour. (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,—(in figures) 256. (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks. (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

I remember a Fakir or Mujawer of the Hill used to light a Chirāg every evening which we could see from the town and few miles round. The cave is so well protected that no wind could blow out the Chirāg.

Chandan Shaheed is a meaningless word so far as Arabic or Persian is concerned.

On the summit of the Hill just above the inscription there is a Chabutra about six feet high and that is the grave of "Chandan Shaheed". Some Muslims of the town suggest it means Chand Shaheed, that is several martyrs buried in that one grave. It is also meaningless. O'Malley and James say: "The hill where the inscription is found was evidently an old Buddhist site, which appears to have been appropriated later on by the Muhammadans". No one knows, however, of the life and history, of Chandan; yet he is called a Shaheed or Martyr, and worshiped. General Cunningham writes about a "legend which seems to have been suggested by that of Sahasra Arjun", because the thousand armed Haihaya chief Arjun died here. His thousand arms are said to have been cut off by Par surāma, when he fled with all his followers to this place. There is an old stone image of his near the Thana, Sahasra Arjunpura. According to the story referred to by Cunningham, "a Muhammadan saint living at Benares had his head cut off by a Hindu named Chandan and fled away without his head till he reached Sasaram. Here he asked a woman for some betel to eat, but she replied, "What is the use

of giving you betel when your head is gone" On this "the holy man at once dropped down dead".

Buchanan writes about another legend : "A holy martyr named Chandan accompanied Mahmud Ghazni and was slain by the ungrateful infidels in the pious act of compelling them to receive a place in paradise." It is alleged that this prince, so zealous for the propagation of the faith had, in his army a number of saints, who led the battalions, and several of them of course obtained martyrdom and all are called "Chandan" which is also meaningless. "Mudrārākṣasa" is one of the few immortal Sanskrit dramas left to us. Here we read of Chandana Dās, the famous Banker of Pāṭaliputra under Chandragupta. It may be that he or one of his descendants also known as Chandan Dās (which used to be the old custom) who was State Banker in Aśoka's time, built or established this important Math or Monastery or Sangram for a thousand monks. The latter might thus please his beloved master, Emperor Aśoka, who must have taken a special fancy for this hill. Perhaps we do not know to-day that the place Sasaram had something to do with the Great Master, Lord Buddha. After attaining Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya, the Master went to Sarnath to preach his sermon at the Deer Park. He must have stayed at and passed through this place, or felt some admiration for it, as it was surrounded by hills and the old town was in a valley.

The Great Master was very fond of hills, as he lived at Rājagriha and then wandered to Gaya through hills. So it might be that he discovered this as another suitable hill. The Piyadasi also left his mark in honour of his great master's favourite spot by recording one of the most important dated inscriptions there.

The place will strike any one passing the famous Grand Trunk Road. The old Grand Trunk Road used to pass through the present town and by the side of this hill. The present road has shifted a mile away from the hill. On the summit of the hill, there are two water tanks carved on rocks exactly like those at Sāñchī and other famous Buddhist places. The place must have been sacred and well-known. So during the Muhammadan period a Muslim saint also lived and was buried there. The name Chandan was very ancient and important, and in spite of lapse of time, people could not persuade themselves to

call this hill by the new name of the saint. So they called it "Chandan Shaheed ka Pāhār." My reading is that the name Chandan and Sasaram both have survived even to this day, through they had their origin in the past. It is very curious that just near the head of the grave which is on Chabutra, there used to be a stone exactly like Śiva Lingam. The Hindus worshipped this Lingam and also the grave. The Muhammadans also when worshipping and covering the grave with a chadar or sheet, put a strip of cloth or a flower garland round the stone. I remember asking my Muhammadan friends with whom I went there for the first time as to who was this and I was told it was a Deo; so the place was sacred for both Hindus and Muhammadans which I witnessed myself. During the last ten years or so communal harmony between them was broken. Some foolish people started mischief and one night the Śiva Lingam or Deo or Chiragdan as some Muslims call it these days disappeared. The Hindus suspected it to be the work of Muslims. A month or two after, another night the Chabutra was broken and the grave dug out. The Muhammadans suspected it must be the work of the Hindus. No one knows what happened to bones &c. The authorities took steps but nothing came out. Net result is that the old place of worship has suffered on account of these mischievous people and the old sanctity is gone.

A legend is still alive about the prehistoric period. According to it the great Hariśchandra Satyavadi used to live on the hill known as Rohtasgarh which is 22 miles from Sasaram, and Rohit was the name of his son. When Hariśchandra, his wife and Rohit, their son, were going to be sold at Kashi (Benares) to pay the remaining promised Dan or gift to the Brahmin, they passed through this route. The legend further says that when they were tired and hungry, they rested on the bank of the river Karmanāsā and caught some fishes, then collected some sticks, and baked the fish. When all was ready they went to take bath in the river before the meal. When they returned for the meal, the fishes jumped back in water. From that day the river got its name Karmanāsā, and the saying is "Raja Hariśchandra par bipat pari tab bhunji Machhli jal me pari" (When the trouble came on king Hariśchandra, then fried fishes jumped into the water). I remember, we were going to Benares by Grand Trunk Road and the Karmanāsā bridge was under repair and we had to cross the river. We were carried by

men and warned not to touch the water on any account, as it is very unlucky.

There is another prehistoric legend about Sasaram, which says that these hills formed the abode of a famous Rākṣasa, Shasrabāhu, that is with a thousand arms. He became very powerful, as he had the assurance of Śiva that he will be defeated by none and any person on whom he will put his hand will be reduced to ashes. Nārada, one of the seven principal Rishis, told the Rākṣasa that Śiva had deceived him and he should try his hand on Śiva's head. The Rākṣasa was chasing Śiva up hills and down dales till he reached and hid in Gupteśvara cave, Viṣṇu came to Śiva's rescue, and said to the Asur "If you doubt the truth of the boon, which Śiva says he granted, why don't you put your own hand on your head and try." He did so and was immediately reduced to ashes.

The cave in which Śiva is supposed to have hidden himself, known as Gupteśvara, is a wonderful and long one, 18 feet wide and 12 feet high and more than 1200 feet long with several turns and passages. I visited the cave in the month of March ; it was nice and cool there. I agree with Buchanan that a gush of fresh breeze always comes inside ; from where it comes and where it goes, it is difficult to say but there are sub-terranean passages all over. We tried to explore as much as we could. We had four torches, and we stayed 8 hours inside, trying to find the passages but like others failed. When you reach the end of the one passage called Śiva Dancing Hall, there is a small opening. A man crawled through it and then descended about 8 feet to 10 feet down with a lantern ; he found another wide passage leading from there, but we returned as our oil was getting short. In the cave there are numerous Stalactites, and some of them, formed on the floor, have strong resemblance to the phallus of a Lingam. The biggest one 6 feet high is known as Gupteśvara Mahādeva. Water trickles all the time on it. There are several small ones, called other Devatās. I took 40 men with me, some being Kharwars who suppose to know a lot. I wanted to proceed further beyond the principal Lingam, but they would not lead us, telling us that an Ajar was on that side. Water trickles all along the cave, but in the cave where Gupteśvara Mahādeva Lingam stands there is always some

water on the floor due to low level ; this water is not stagnant, but running so there must be outlet some where.

Now-a-days visitors should be able to explore the cave better, with Petromax, Spotlights, and powerful torches &c., and they will be well rewarded. During the Śivarātri thousands go for *darśan* and pour water on the Lingam. Rājā Mān Singh, when Governor of Rohtasgarh, had the proper door carved of the cave and built many steps. It was too big an undertaking for one man, but he did his share.

So Sasaram got its name from Sahasrabāhu. Coming back to Chandan Shaheed hill, on the northern peak is Aśoka's inscription. The hill is about three miles from North to South and practically barren having nothing much of importance, till you get to the southern point where there is a natural narrow pass which separates this hill from the main Kaimur range and Sasaram Rohtas Road leads through this pass. Just at this bend there is a small rock temple called Tārā Chaṇḍī. The image of the Devi is carved on rock and worshipped by town people and travellers. Adjoining this rock Temple there is a veranda for the people to rest. Inside the veranda there is, on a rock, a fine inscription of Pratāp Dhanula, a local Raja after the time of Jaichandra of Kanauj. There are two other inscriptions of the same Pratāp Dhanula, one near Tilauthu and the other near Rohtas. Above the Tārā Chaṇḍī rock Temple only a few yards away Aurangzeb built a mosque.

The hill takes a sharp turn from Tārā Chaṇḍī towards the east, and enterprising young men in quest of research, should follow this hill and search all the caves for inscriptions, as I am told there are several at different caves. The local cow-boys and goat-boys will be of great help, as they frequent these places and will point out what they call strange writing on rock in carving. They are Pali inscriptions carved by monks who use to occupy them. They may throw some light on the subject of ancient history.

This town or spot on Utra Pad Grand Trunk Road had some charm even during the Muhammadan period. It is the training-ground of the Great Emperor Sher Shah Suri. His father Hasan Sur was a Jāgirdār of Sasaram.

It was Sher Shah who first combined Hindus and Muhammadans and drove out Moghal intruders from the land. I doubt whether any

one can name another Indian a few centuries before or after him, with such ideas, imagination, knowledge of science, art and administration. It was he who reorganized the famous Grand Trunk Road, built wells, serais, rest-houses every few miles. Like Asoka he planted trees on both sides of roads to protect the travellers from the sun, and had a kind of Post-system (he built 70 to 80 feet high Towers with winding steps to top, and three big drums were placed and the messages used to be sent by the beat of drums to the next Tower which was within hearing distance). I witnessed this drum signal system few years back in Baster State, which is still primitive, and have also seen few old Towers in ruined condition.

He organized Province, District, Sub-Division, even Thana and Pergana. The grand monuments like his father's tomb, his own tomb and that of his son Salim were all built within a period of sixteen years. The third one would have been grander still, but unfortunately only came up to 15 feet. Visitors will notice in his tomb an object hanging on a chain in the middle of the dome, like a Temple bell; seeing through different stone carved marks opening he will see different objects from each opening. Of course like everything of Sher Shah, the architecture of his mausoleums is of mixed Hindu and Muslim elements. It is in deed highly beautiful. I think these sons of Bihar will remain immortal in the history of India. The Nandas whose name created terrors to Alexander's army, Chandra Gupta Maurya, who drove Seleucus far away from India, Chandra Gupta II of Guptas who overpowered the Śakas and Sher Shah who drove Humayun Moghal out of India. Let us see what parts in future Biharees will play in the history of India.

One should visit Sasaram in August when he will see a grand water fall, called Dhua Kund 300 to 400 feet water fall, he will get a magnificent bath under several small falls which gives wonderful appetite. Thousands go to picnic on these hills and spend few nights, during rainy season.

There are a few other objects of interest in the town, such as old Turkish Bath Hammam and Bawli, with slope right down to the water and three storied verandas all four sides for rest in heat, etc.

The Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur also lived there, and the place has got a Sanghat there, known as Guru-ki-bagh and a Gurudwara.

Coming to the 18th century we may note that Rang Lal, the famous Commander-in-Chief of Ali Wardi Khan, was a Sasarami, and his two sons Mahārājās, Rāmānārain and Dhiraj Nārāyan, were well known Governors of Bihar down to British time. *They all had a soft corner in their heart for their native place.

*For further details about them reference may be made to Prof. Khan Saheb S. H. Askari's articles on Ramnarain.

RECRUITS FOR THE COMPANY'S TROOPS IN BIHAR, 1754—57.

(By DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.,

Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.)

Anxious for the safety of the English East India Company's settlements in India against the apprehended renewal of conflicts with the French, and also as a measure of precaution against some indigenous forces that might prejudice the interests of the Company, the Court of Directors in England not only sent occasional reinforcements for the Company's army in their different settlements but also advised the respective Councils to tap useful sources of recruitment in India. Thus they observed in para. 55 of their *Letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated 29th November, 1754*: "We intend to send on the Ships bound to Bengal as many recruits for your Military as they can conveniently carry but as those Ships will call first at Fort St. George we cannot help giving leave to the President and Council to detain all or as many of them as the circumstances of our Affairs may require ; we are sensible of the difficulties you be under by Recruits intended for your Presidency being thus nominally stopped at Fort St. George but as there has been and there still may be unavoidable necessity for it we must depend upon yours and Coll. Scott's best endeavours under these circumstances to keep up the Garrison in the most respectable condition you can, Coll. Scott has hinted to us that there are a set of Men called Raspoos (Rajputs) Natives on the Banks of the Ganges near Patna who are Gentoos¹ of the fighting cast (e) and is of opinion that if they are properly Disciplined they will make excellent Soldiers, we think in the present Dilemma this project deserves attention and therefore you are with Coll. Scott to give it a due consideration and if you find it useful and practicable we give you leave to recruit your Garrison with a sufficient Body of those People."

1 Hindus.

The reference is to the Rajputs of Bihar, particularly those settled in the Shahabad area. Many of them were employed, even before 1754, for purposes of police and military services both by the Nawab's Government in Bengal¹ and the English East India Company, and they are mentioned in some contemporary English records as *Buxuries* (*i. e.* those recruited from Buxar). In para 8 of their *Letter to Bengal, dated the 29th July, 1741*, the Court of Directors "directed that their several settlements be put and kept in the best posture of Defence for the security of their Property as affairs in the Moghul Empire are in a very precarious situation".² In fact, from the next year the inroads of the Marathas into Bengal caused considerable alarm and anxiety in the minds of the Englishmen there³, and as a precautionary step the Council in Calcutta "on the first Alarm entertained 200 Buxereys to Man the Choukeys and Patrol a nights on Skirts of the Town (of Calcutta)".⁴ They were discharged on the 17th June 1742⁵. Again on the 13th May, 1745, about 300 of them were engaged to prevent the attempts of the Marathas from entering within the bounds of the Company's settlement in Calcutta.⁶ But they too were dismissed after the Marathas had departed from the neighbourhood of Calcutta⁷.

Lieutenant Colonel Caroline Fredrick Scott, a shrewd and able officer of the Company and one of the earliest to "procure a perfect knowledge of that Court (of Murshidabad), government, country and people"⁸ so as to be able to think (in 1754) of "success in bringing about a Revolution in Bengal and to their advantage",⁹ had suggested to the Council in Calcutta on the 27th December 1753, that he, as Major of the Company's Garrison in Calcutta and Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's Forces there, should be permitted to "put

1 K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah, Vol. I, p. 253.*

2 Wilson, *Fort William in Bengai, Vol. I., p. 154 and p. 161.*

3 K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times, p. 70.*

4 Wilson, *Fort William, Vol. I., p. 169.*

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid, p. 183.

7 Ibid, p. 186.

8 Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p.p. 326-28* ; Wilson, *Fort William, Vol. II p. 72.*

9 Ibid, p. 74.

under his command" the large number (195) of *Buxuries* then employed in the service of the Company's Zamindari in Calcutta, to get them 'trained and exercised in a regular manner, that they may be servicable in the Defence of the Settlement, or on other occasions if required to be sent upon Partys and Detachments" ¹ The majority in the Council, however, decided that the *Buxuries* then "employed in the Cutcherry (Zamindar's office) should be under the command of the Zamindar ² but in case it may be thought expedient to entertain a further number in future for the security of the place they should be under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief of the Garrison

* * * * *

But, as has been already noted, Colonel Scott suggested the recruitment of the Rajputs of Bihar to the army of the Company. The Court of Directors recommended its careful consideration by the Council in Calcutta and the Bihari Rajputs began to contribute from this time not an inconsiderable quota to the ranks of the East India Company's Indian troops. Arrangements were made for their discipline and instruction under the command of a European Officer, when the First Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, called from its equipment the "Lal Pultun or Red Regiment", was coming into existence early in 1757 due to the foresight and enterprise of Colonel Clive. ⁴ The *Native Infantry* of Clive in the mango grove of Plassey consisted of 2100 men "partly the Madras Sipahis and partly the newly raised Bengal Battalion" ⁵.

¹ Ibid, Vol. I, p. 254.

² Mr. J. Z. Holwell was then Zamindar or Collector of Calcutta.

³ Wilson, *Op. Cit.* Vol. I p. 254—56.

⁴ Brcome, *Bengal Army* p.p. 92-93.

⁵ Ibid, p. 142 ; Orme, *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 174.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 18th February, 1945.

PRESENT.

1. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
(in the Chair).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
3. Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.
4. Dr. K. K. Datta.
5. Khan Sahib S. H. Askari.
6. Dr. T. P. Chowdhury.
7. Mr. Sham Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 30th July, 1944.

2. Passed the monthly statement of accounts from July 1944 to January 1945.

3. Passed payments of the following bills:—

- (a) Clive Press, Calcutta for purchase of books: Rs. 310.
- (b) Indian Photo Engraving Co. Bill—printing charges of plate for June issue Journal 1944: Rs. 37-2-0.
- (c) Oriental Book Agency Bill, dated 2-12-44—purchase of books: Rs. 133-6-6.
- (d) Messrs. Ramakrishna and Sons, Bill, dated 22-11-44—purchase of books: Rs. 19-10

(e) Oriental Book Agency Bill, dated 10-1-45—Purchase of books: Rs. 32-12-0.

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society :—

- (a) B. Woopendra Chandra Bhadra, Agent, Pioneer Bank, Sylhet.
- (b) Prof. Dr. Iswara Datta, Ph. D., Patna College.
- (c) Mr. Vidyanath Jha, B. A., M. A. Student, Patna College.

(d) Professor Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M. A., Patna College.

(e) Mr. P. C. Rai, Inspector, Railway Labour, Patna.

(f) P. Vidyanand, M. A., Lecturer in Sanskrit and Hindi, B. N. College.

5. Resolved that " the Poona Orientalist " be placed on the exchange list of the Society.

6. Resolved that the number of copies of reprints be reduced to 10 copies only for the time being in view of paper economy.

7. Considered arrangements for the Annual Meeting.

Resolved that the 24th of March 1945 be tentatively fixed as date for holding the meeting.

(b) Resolved that the following office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1945-46 be recommended to be elected at the Annual Meeting.

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. F.

Treasurer—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhary, M. A., Ph. D.

Editorial Board:—

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil (Oxon).

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.

Prof. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M. A., Ph. D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

A. J. Salisbury, Esqr., I. C. S.

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.

8. Considered the works of the Mithila Pandit.

Resolved that the Report of Dr. T. P. Chowdhury be approved.

9. Read Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal's letter No. 514, dated 10-2-1945 and appreciated the proposals.

S. BAHADUR.

Honorary General Secretary,

21-2-1945.

*Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society
held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Saturday,
the 17th March, 1945 at 6-30 p. m.*

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Saturday the 17th March, 1945 at 6-30 p. m.

The following formal business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.
2. On a motion by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1945-46 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford,
K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. E.

Treasurer—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S.,
Ph. D. (Editor-in-charge).

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.

Prof. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M. A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-Officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

A. J. Salisbury Esqr., I. C. S.

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).

3. The Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited Mr. Percy Brown, A. R. C. A., to address the meeting

6. A lecture was delivered by Mr. Percy Brown, A. R. C. A., on " The Arts of Nepal ".

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. Mr. Sham Bahadur proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary General Secretary.

Bihar Research Society .

Annual Report for 1944-45.

1.—Membership.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1944 was 108. The Society lost two of its ordinary members by resignation. Thirteen new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary members and 15 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 134.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and Members of the Council:—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford,
K. C. S I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. E.

Treasurer—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A. (Bombay), B.A. (Cantab).

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A. (Bombay), B.A. (Cantab).

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D.
Phil. (Oxon).

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S.,
Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.
Prof. Dharamendra Brahmachari Sastri,
M. A.,

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Sinha.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.
 Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.
 S. V. Sohoni, Esq., I. C. S.
 Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.
 Khan Sahib Saiyid Hassan Askari, M. A.

11.—Meetings.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 25th March, 1944 in the Patna University Library Hall, Patna, the Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Vice-President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on the "University of Nalanda" delivered by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. of Lucknow University.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 30th July 1944 and the 18th February, 1945.

III.—Journal.

During the period under review Parts 1, 2 and 3-4 of Volume XXX of the Society's Journal containing 266 pages and 2 plates have been published. The size of the Journal has been much reduced on account of Government's Paper Economy Control order 1944.

IV.—Library.

During the year 137 books (306 volumes) and 135 different issues of Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 15 were presented, 98 were purchased and 24 were obtained by exchange and of the Journals 18 were presented, 1 was purchased and 116 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1944 the Library contained 9427 volumes as compared with 9121 volumes of the previous year.

V.—Search for Manuscripts.

The Mithila Pandit worked at headquarters throughout the year arranging the Catalogues of Manuscripts and preparing press copy of the same as his services terminate on the 31st of March, 1945, Government having stopped further grant on this account. The publication of the remaining volumes of the Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts entirely depends upon donation of the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga who has been approached for it.

7th March, 1945.

S. BAHADUR
Honorary General Secretary.

Review of Books.

NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN HINDU PHILOSOPHY

by S. K. Saksena, M. A. (Alld.), Ph. D. (Lond.), Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, Hindu College, Dehli University, Dehli, pages 223, published by Nand Kishore and Bros., Benares, 1944. Price Rs. 7-8 as.

This work is the author's thesis for Ph. D. submitted to and approved by the University of London in 1938. It is a scholarly attempt to present together the most important conceptions of *Consciousness* found in the different schools of Indian Philosophy in different ages, from the Vedic to the Classical. The subject, Consciousness, is one of the basic topics in philosophy, and has, therefore, engaged the attention of philosophers of all times and countries. Indian thinkers have made very substantial contributions in this respect, and these deserve to be placed before modern thinkers who are equally interested in the subject. The author deserves, therefore, our best thanks, for undertaking this valuable piece of work. He shows wide reading, assimilation and judicious choice of arguments. The interested student will be grateful to find here in one place the views of all important thinkers collected from abstruse works beyond the grasp of most philosophical readers. The author does well to point out the distinctive features of the Indian conception of consciousness by comparing and contrasting them with western views.

A work of this nature is obviously meant for the student of philosophy unacquainted with original Sanskrit texts, and should, therefore, try to interpret technical words and concepts in terms of western ones. In this respect the present work is, unfortunately, disappointing in many places. Refer, for example, to the following sentence on p. 123. "But there is then, no manifestation of the '*nirāśraya*' and the *nirviṣaya* 'Jnaptimātra cit prakāśa' which also, is nevertheless present as the basic substrate." What would an English reader (or even a non-Pandit Indian) learn from this bilingual jargon ?

We should not be too fastidious about the idioms of a foreign language, especially in a technical work like the present one, seeing that even English writers commit mistakes in writing English. Expressions like 'an unique' (p. 3), 'paraphernalia... is taken away' (pp. 125-6) 'understanding is called *as* buddhi' are evident slips. But coinages like 'consciousless' (p. 126), 'sciousness,' (p. 127) may prove too much.

The present reviewer does not quite understand why in the title of the book Indian Philosophy is called *Hindu* Philosophy. If Hindu means, as it ordinarily does in India, 'one who professes Hinduism', then obviously the discussion of Chārvāka and Bauddha views which enrich the book, would be out of place. If Hindu stands, however, for Indian, it is better to use that unambiguous word 'Indian'. The popular misconception that Indian Philosophy is an advocate of, or based on, Hinduism, has stood in the way of its claim to recognition as *philosophy* in many quarters. It would be unfortunate if scholars also use words which would go to perpetuate that misunderstanding.

But such minor defects, the like of which a carping critic can trace in almost any work, should not blind us to the fact that the book contains very valuable information which a student of Indian Epistemology would regard indispensable for a thorough grasp of the subject.

2. TARKABHASHA AND VADASTHANA OF MOKSHAKA-RAGUPTA AND JITARIPADA respectively Edited by H.R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.A., Curator-in-charge, Oriental Library, Mysore, with a foreword by M. M. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, pp. VII+80, and pp. 14. Price Rs. 3

This book contains two separate works. The first one; Tarkabhāṣā is a treatise on the source of valid cognition (Pramāṇa) written after Buddhist logicians, like Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. It tries to explain lucidly Buddhist theories of perception and inference, and also to refute the arguments of other schools which admit other additional sources of knowledge. In the light of this work one can understand better some of the knottiest points in Dinnāga's great logical work, Pramāṇasamuccaya, e. g., his peculiar conception of mānasa pratyakṣa (mental *perception*, not mental *sensation*, as the

editor translates it in the preface, p. iv). The special value of this new edition lies in the fact that it is based on the Tibetan version in addition to three Sanskrit manuscripts. The editor deserves, therefore, to be thanked by all students of Buddhist Logic. But mistakes in printing which come to sight even at a cursory glance, and the absence of diacritical marks in the English foreword and preface, create a poor impression.

The second work, VĀDASTHĀNA, by Jitaripada contains a refutation of Jātivāda (the theory of universals), and of *anekāntavāda* (the Jain theory of mansided reality) from the Buddhist point of view. It is a very short but interesting treatise.

ATMAN IN PRE-UPANISADIC VEDIC LITERATURE by H.G. Narahari, M. A., M. Litt., Research Fellow, Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Published by Adyar Library, 1941. PP.XLIII+278 (with a foreword by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil). Price Rs. 8.

This work embodies a thesis on which the Degree of Master of Letters was awarded to the author by the University of Madras in 1943. It sets a good example for the intensive study of a limited problem and shows how such an attempt is more fruitful, especially for a beginner in research work, than that of ploughing a wide area but only scratching the surface. The main thesis, not accurately indicated by the title of the book, is that there is an unbroken continuity between the philosophical teachings of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. The importance of the theme lies in the refutation of the commonly accepted hetdrodox view of western and Indian scholars that the Upaniṣads mark a break in, if not a positive revolt against, the ritualism of the Vedas. The author tries hard to support the orthodox Indian view that the teachings of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads present a continuous and consistent whole. He attempts to show that the germs of Upaniṣadic conceptions of soul, God, immortality, transmigration and release can all be traced in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇs. Though advocating the orthodox view, the writer shows ample acquaintance with the views of western scholars whom he tries generally to refute. Indeed, there is such an endless citation of such authorities and their works, that the book might seem to be paying much more attention to

these scholastic stunts than to the collection and combination of logical arguments which would go to strengthen and prove the main thesis. But on the whole the work can be said to make a valuable contribution which will prove helpful to all students of ancient Indian Philosophy.

Patna College,

11-7-45

DHIRENDRA MOHAN DATTA

JOURNAL

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BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

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1945

[PART III

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE MADRAS JUDICIARY.

By PROFESSOR RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRININASACHARI.

Annamalai University.

PART III.

I

Friction of a very troublesome and vexatious character continued to subsist between the Court and the Council, because of the persistent truculence of Hugh Naish,⁷ who had been foiled in his attempt to secure his re-election as Mayor, but who continued to exercise a baneful influence as Alderman. The Court challenged the right of the Choultry Justice to levy a fee for certifying the sale of a house. Thereupon the President and Council declared that the Company's Standing Orders could not be overridden by the Charter and remarked that the system of alternative registration before the Mayor's Court or at the Choultry opened the door to fraudulent practices and therefore they resolved to establish one single Registration Office under their own Registrar, the conveyances to be certified by two Justices of the Peace.

In a suit for breach of contract against Sunkurama, an influential Indian merchant, brought by the Company, the Court of Appeal ordered the Mayor's Court to issue a warrant of execution. The latter body

⁷ He had a private quarrel with Torriano over a bet at a dinner party.

delayed action ; and this was interpreted by Government to mean a deference on the part of the Court towards Sunkurama, which brought Government into derision in the eyes of the inhabitants and of the country powers. The Council asked the Company's Attorney to prefer a complaint to them against the Mayor and each of the Aldermen, individually, for disobeying the injunction sent to them from the Court of Appeal. The Council, in their Consultation of 11th June 1735, declared that the conduct of Sunkurama and the partiality of the members of the Mayor's Court displayed to him constituted a shameful prostitution of justice, which "should not be suffered by any civil government"; and they denied Sunkurama the right of entry into White Town without particular leave. When the Mayor and the Aldermen were formally charged with actions tending to the detriment of the Company and to the abuse of justice and being contrary to the rules of the Charter, they put in a demurrer, pleading that the members of the Court of Appeal were also the President and Council and therefore interested parties. What the sequel was is not known. Fortunately, Sunkurama died shortly afterwards.

An extract from the Consultations of 14th July 1735 gives a glimpse of the refusal of the Gujaratis in the settlement to take the usual prescribed oath in the Mayor's Court and of their demand to be freed from the fines imposed in consequence. The decision of the Council in this affair is worth repetition *in extenso* "Whereupon the Board remembering that in the year 1731, all the Principal Guzarats were summoned on a Jury, and submitted to a fine for non-appearance on account of this very thing; and that though the fine was for that time levied, yet the Sheriff, and all who have since succeeded in that office, were cautioned never to return any more of that caste ; that so neither they should be forced to an action against their laws on the one side, nor the authority of the Courts of Justice lessened by their not being punished for their disobedience on the other. It was agreed to have been long since settled that the Guzarats ought not to be compelled to take an oath, since it is contrary to the known rules of their Caste ; and the Honourable Company having directed us to remit such fines laid by the Mayor's Court, as seem to carry with them more than ordinary severity."

On the 19th April 1736 the President informed his Council of two cases, the first relating to the confinement of a Gujarati merchant

on a complaint from the country people, and the second being the arrest of the person of a poligar connected with the administration of two of the villages belonging to Madras, among others, but being in the service of the Mussalmans at the time of his arrest. With regard to the arrest of Mool Chand the Gujarati merchant aforementioned, the Governor said that there was no precedent to be found for his taking action, since the passing of the Charter, and there was a doubt whether he had authority to commit Mool Chand to custody. The Governor however opined, as follows, about the difficulty : "It has been a point much debated of late whether any person, since the coming out of the Charter can be taken up for debt except by warrant issuing out of the Mayor's Court. But besides that it often happens that by the Forms of the Court, it may be some days before a warrant can be taken out. We are not certain that the Moors would submit to follow a process there ; but if they should consent thereto, yet many things might occur which would give us infinite uneasiness ; for though at present I think we are upon so good terms with the Mayor's Court, that I am willing to hope they would make all possible despatch in bringing such a suit to an issue ; yet we cannot be always sure of such a disposition; and if it should even happen that the majority of that Court should be composed of persons of a malignant disposition towards the interest of the Company, or actuated by prejudices against the Company's Agents, it is very easy to foresee the trouble and confusion, not only to the Company's affairs, but the whole place might be involved in it. I suppose it is well-known how much it is in the breast of the Court, to prolong the time before any suit is finished; and a message from the Board, if the court are not rightly disposed would rather occasion a greater delay than quicken their proceedings." It was considered unlikely that the suitors who were subjects of the Moorish government would be patient enough to put up with the procedure of the Court; and much more would they resent any appeal to courts in England.

The next point of dispute referred to, occurred soon afterwards in April 1736. When the Sergeant of the Mayor's Court arrested a poligar of the country powers who had charge of twenty-five villages in neighbourhood and also of two villages within the Company's bounds, the Governor and Council resolved that the Sheriff should not serve any warrant of arrest or execution upon the poligars of the villages, nor upon the houses wherein they kept their prisoners, nor upon the

duties payable to them (19th April 1736). Though the Charter declared that the jurisdiction of the Court should hold good for ten miles outside the bounds, the Governor maintained that it was to be understood and provided that the Company's bounds had the same extent. The Moors would not suffer the Mayor's warrants to pass in their territories; and the Court, *i. e.*, the Mayor's Court, would do well to confine their jurisdiction within that of the Company. The concerned poligar of Tiruvettiswaranpettah had jurisdiction over twenty-five villages; and according to Governor Benyon, all poligars were to be exempt from arrest and therefore he was freed. The arrest of their poligar was considered a breach of the old rules of the place, established for many and very good reasons. Consequently the Consultation tell us of the following order: "Ordered that no Sheriff do serve any warrant of arrest or execution upon the person of the Polligar of Madras, or any of the poligars of the villages, nor upon their dwelling houses, where they keep their prisoners, nor upon any of the duties due and payable to them for the guard and safety of the town and villages." "Ordered also that the Sheriff do repay to the Polligar of Cattawauk, the sum of forty-six fanams, taken from the said Poligar by the Sheriff's officers for prison fees."

(Consultations of 19th April 1736)

II.

Regarding the treatment and trial of the two Indians under confinement in the Choultry prison, a doubt arose as to how to proceed in such cases, because the late Charter did not empower the English to take cognizance of any crime committed beyond ten miles distance from any English settlement. The Board felt that in such cases they could not proceed against those persons according to English laws; neither should they deliver them up to the country government, as such action would be attended with ill consequences; nor should they allow the prisoners to escape. Therefore, at their meeting of 25th November 1735, the Board resolved unanimously to send the two prisoners concerned to Bencoolen in Sumatra, by the first vessel bound to that place, and to make them slaves for life to the Company. The Board satisfied themselves with this reflection justifying their action even according to a strict interpretation of the Charter:— "Since being

therein directed to act as much in conformity to the laws of England as the condition and circumstances of the place will admit of, the Board cannot but be of opinion His Majesty intended by the above expression to give us a liberty—(in consideration that in so distant a colony, and among people whose religion, laws and customs are so infinitely different from our own, many things must unavoidably happen for which the laws of England have made no provision, and many others where the execution of these laws would be attended with very fatal consequences to the settlement)—of acting in all such cases so as should appear most consonant to the well-being and security of the place; and of this nature the Board think the case now before us to be."

In September 1736, the Mayor's Court committed to gaol two influential Hindu merchants, Peria Thambi Mudaliar and Ramchandra, for no other reason, according to the Council's Minutes, than that "they had refused to take certain oaths which they alleged were contrary to their religion and the rules of their caste." A huge popular clamour arose; and thereupon the Mayor and the Sheriff were summoned by the Governor and persuaded to release the two merchants upon their *parole*. The Governor urged that he would support measures that would secure true justice, provided due regard was paid to the conscientious scruples of the natives. But they avoided any mention of their release of the prisoners in their Consultations, "being unwilling to record anything which might reflect upon the Gentlemen of the Mayor's Court and hoping also they would have considered it again, and have had the Prudence either to drop it or propose some Method not liable to be attended with the Mischiefs this might have been."¹⁸ In reality they were not sure whether the Directors would not censure their action as contrary to legal procedure.

On the 5th of October. Naish, Saunders. Appleby and Mitchell all, Aldermen, resigned, leaving only the Mayor and Edward Fowke to sit on the Bench of the Mayor's Court, whose work was consequently paralysed for some time, till a third judge should be brought up for Fort St. David, and the three could co-opt other members in their corporate capacity.

III.

During the Governorship of Mr. Richard Benyon (1735-44) which is helpful as bridging the period between the obscurer and the clearer portions of Madras History, we have but few items of interest relating to the Madras Judiciary, because attention was engrossed in the revolutionary events taking place in the Carnatic that laid the train for the subversion of the ruling dynasty of the Nawabs. On the 3rd of January 1740, the President delivered to the Council a paper from John Sanderson who had commenced a suit against his own Dubash, Kesava Chetty Adeppa (Narrain) for the recovery of some amount from himself by filing a complaint in the Mayor's Court. The money transaction was held to have happened early in 1736. On the 8th January, Mr. Sanderson delivered an answer in which he said that, as Governor Benyon absolutely disowned having received the amount from his servant on the 2nd March 1738, he had just reason to claim the same from Adeppa Narrain the Governor's Dubash, who had tricked both his master and himself; and he held that he had not only all the circumstantial proofs that could be required in any inquiry, but could add direct positive and legal proof as much as the nature of the thing could admit of and that "he could not but be surprised that the Governor should make himself an advocate for his servant as if it would admit of a doubt whether or not Narrain had received the sum of 2,000 pagodas, which, as the Governor declared, was never applied to the use he designed for it and that he did not receive any benefit thereby." His servant, Mugganna, swore an affidavit before Timothy Tullie, the Mayor of Madraspatam, as to his having actually given two bags of coins to Adeppa Narrain. Sanderson complained that he naturally lay under "very great disadvantage by prosecuting Narrain in this affair as he was supported by so powerful a master as the President."

9. Nothing further on this strange matter is found in the Madras Records (Wheeler : Madras in the Olden Time, 1882, P. 564)

The proceeding in the Mayor's Court, available for the years following its establishment, in the series of Madras Record Publications, entitled, 'Pleadings in the Mayor's Court', give us details of the manner in which petitions had to be preferred by the petitioner or orator, the registration of documents necessary, their translation, the statement of the defendant or counter-petitioner and the wording of the orders

In yet another important matter do we find a legal difficulty that arose out of an incident that occurred at Pondicherry, and occasioned a lengthy correspondence between the French and the English Governors. An English ship 'The Nancy' was sold in the Pondicherry Road to a Frenchman. But the captain of the ship refused to deliver her up to the new owners unless some guarantee was given as to payment of wages due to himself and his crew. Forcible measures were resorted to for getting possession of the ship and the captain. The officers of the ship were proposed to be treated as pirates by the French Governor Dumas. Governor Benyon interceded for them, urging that they could be scarcely suspected of any piratical intention. Dumas there upon replied that Benyon himself should determine their proper punishment and that he would deliver them up to the English, but on condition that they should be punished. The English Governor found himself in a dilemma. If the men were sent to Madras, the English Government had no power to punish them, because the outrage had been committed on foreign territory. Therefore Benyon requested Dumas to punish them himself, in the manner and to the extent he thought proper, and then to send them to Madras so that they might be deported to England.

Still another dispute arose between the English and the French Governments on a question of jurisdiction over some deserters from the garrison of Pondicherry who were suspected of having murdered a man and then escaped to Fort St. David. The Council of Madras decided that the crime of which the deserters were accused should not go unpunished and the giving up of these men to the jurisdiction of the French courts was "no contravention to the protection of the flag"; the only stipulation that they made was that if the men should be found innocent of the murder in the course of the trial, they should be pardoned for the desertion.

A practice which was followed by the English at Madras, as elsewhere, but which was in reality a serious infringement on the

and decrees of the Court attested by the Registrar. The reply of the petitioner or plaintiff to the answer of the defendant and the subsequent rejoinder follow in many cases. Interrogatories administered to witnesses and their depositions as taken down by the Examiner of the Court are found in full in the quaint legal phraseology of those days.

liberty of the Indians may be noted. It related to their practice of purchasing native lads and shipping them off as slaves to the Archipelago. In the consultations of the 30th June 1741 the President informed the Council that as the Mulla of the Nawab had protested to him in the matter of a Moor boy who had been stolen and sold to the captain of a ship, the boy had to be got back ashore and restored to his people. The Governor proposed that an order should be made by the Council prohibiting the buying and selling of the children of Muhammadans of any sect in this place. It was recorded in the Consultations that "it was one of our agreements with the Government of Bengal that we will not send away as slaves any of the natives; and if there be no such agreement between us and the Moors in this province it is possible that we were settled here when the Gentoos were lords of the country."

Three shroffs, one belonging to the Company and the other two working in the bazar, who had been condemned to transportation to Sumatra, set up an agitation which was naturally headed by the leaders of both the Right and Left hand caste groups, who promised the Board that if the sentence of transportation should be mitigated into one of banishment beyond the bounds of the settlement, they would pay a fine to the Company, of 5,000 pagodas for the three. It was decided that the two bazaar shroffs were to be banished from the settlement, but the Company's shroff was to be transported to Sumatra as his crime was heinous. Four months later, when a ship was ready to sail to Sumatra, the heads of the castes again intervened on behalf of the last Shroff and increased their offer to 3,500 pagodas which they pleaded might be used for improving the roads and bridges for which funds were urgently required. The request was complied with.

IV.

In May 1742, a very complicated situation arose. The President informed the Board that the captain of a ship belonging to Macao in China, which had been for sometime in the Bay, had cruelly ill-treated and cut off the ears of his mate of his lodgings in Black Town and therefore he had ordered the guard to seize the captain. The Board severally examined the accused captain, the injured mate and witnesses, after having sworn them in duly. After their depositions were taken, the

following resolution was recorded: "And there being no doubt whether the mate's ears were cut at St. Thome, and there is no proof that they were not (the Coffrees who executed the Captain's orders being fled or not to be found); — it was made a question whether, notwithstanding the Charter give us power to try all crimes and offences committed within our town, or within ten miles of the same, yet if this fact was perpetrated in the territories, and under the jurisdiction of another prince, and the offender as well as the offended being subjects of the King of Portugal, it was not ground for an objection to our authority and might be the occasion of some complaint in Europe. Another doubt was, whether if the fact had been committed, or was cognizable here, it was properly *Maihem*. If it was, we recollect no trial upon the statute of the 22nd and 23rd of Charles the Second, except that of Coke and Woodburne, which was a very particular and extraordinary case. Besides that some of our Law books say, that cutting off the ear is no *Mathem quia latens*; and for that offence an indictment may be at the sessions. But besides what has been said before, if we should keep the Captain here to try him for the assault, and in consequence thereof the Court should think fit to fine him, it is uncertain how long he would remain in prison before he would be able to pay it; having been supported by charity ever since his being here. It was agreed upon the whole to transmit the affidavits, with a state of the case to the Governor of Macao; and that the President be desired to procure the said Captain a passage on the 'Sancta Catharina', that is shortly bound thither, and to detain him in custody till he goes off."

Among quasi-judicial matters of interest relating to the conduct of the judiciary and the executive in this epoch the arrangement for exchanging mutual deserters made in 1743 between the Presidency and the Dutch at Pulicat and their Governor and Council at Negapatam may be noted. When three British soldiers who had deserted to Pulicat were required to be returned by the authorities of latter place on the request of the President who promised a full pardon to the three offenders they refused to comply; and the Council at Negapatam had to be reminded that the English had readily given up a Dutch deserter into their own settlement in the previous year and expected a like reciprocity. The Dutch Council of Negapatam thereupon made an agreement that

deserters on either side should be delivered upon assurance being given that they should not be put to death, nor punished publicly in an infamous manner.

V.

There arose also the necessity for prevention, by administrative order, of further acquisition of houses in the White Town by Armenians and other foreigners and strangers as well as by the Moors in the Black Town. A prohibition was affixed in the Armenian and the different European languages by order of the Council of 22nd August 1743 that no foreigners or strangers other than natural-born English subjects should be permitted from and after this date to purchase or inhabit any house or building within the walls of White Town and that the houses already in possession of foreigners should not be sold again to, nor inhabited by, foreigners and strangers other than those already in possession, without the special permission of the President and Council being first obtained. With regard to the Moors, the Justices appointed to the charge of the Registry of houses, held that the prime object of the establishment of the house registry in 1735 was to prevent the Moors purchasing too much of house property in the Black Town and they would not register any bill of sale or conveyance of house property to Moormen without particular leave of the Board. The Moors had been resorting to the practice of getting houses purchased in the name of certain collusive Gentoos (Telugus) or Malabars (Tamils) and later, under pretence of having lent money on the premises, brought their mortgages to be registered, and by that means got possession of and inhabited the houses "as an uninterruptedly as if the original titles were made to themselves." Thereupon the Board ordered that the Justices should not attest or permit any mortgages of the nature of those above described.

A forcible attempt made by a Madras shroff, named Dayaldas, to recover a debt from an English merchant is worthy of being noted. The Consultation of 8th March 1744, tell us that Daniel Berriman of St. Thomas's Mount complained of having been insulted by a Gujarati shroff and forced, with the assistance of the Moor Havildar of San Thome, to come to Madras. Thereupon the Governor sent out a party of peons to prevent the seizure of Berriman and to bring Dayaldas who was

ordered into the custody of the Pedda Nayak, the native police-officer of the settlement. The Moor Havildar of San Thome had attempted to seize the person of Berriman, but had retired, on the representation of some Englishmen as to the irregularity of and ill consequences that might ensue from such a proceeding, before the party of Madras peons came to the rescue. The Board decreed that the attempt of Dayaldas at the seizure of the person of Berriman with the help of the Moor Havildar of San Thome was a breach of the well established rule, that none of the inhabitants of Madras should apply to officers of other governments, Moor or Gentoo, for help even in disputes with or demands on each other, much less where Englishman might be concerned. Since Dayaldas had applied neither to the president nor to the Mayor's Court in the matter, but had pursued his own way and since Government should enforce the principle that its inhabitants, Europeans and Indians, should be subjected to its tribunals alone, it was resolved to punish Dayaldas by a fine and to continue him in confinement till he should pay it. The Havildar of San Thome sent a message of explanation that he was a stranger being come lately from a distant country and that he would not again be guilty of similar actions, and since he was a relation of Nawab Coja Abdullah Khan, the Council resolved to be satisfied with his submission.

VI.

Within a few months after the date of this event, there followed the surrender of Madras into the hands of the French Admiral, Labourdonnais (September 1746). The treaty for ransom was signed on the 10th of October but was not carried out. Little is known of what happened at Madras during the period of French occupation which lasted for nearly three years. The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David, became the only representatives of English interests on the Coast. When Madras was returned to the English, the Fort St. David Council repeated its previous resolution that no Armenian should be suffered to live in White Town nor permitted to make any purchase of houses or godowns therein and even such Armenians as possessed already, but had not chosen to live under French protection there and were not consequently liable to censure, should be obliged to dispose of their properties, except Coja Petrus Uskan; and no foreigner of

any nation should be permitted to live in or purchase houses in White Town.

As noted above the Old Choultry Court was after the date of the introduction of the Charter of 1726 reconstituted so that the Justices of the Peace should also be the Justices of the Choultry with power to decide causes upto twenty pagodas in value. It was however soon felt that the Justices of the Peace who were members of the Superior Court should be demeaning themselves if their decisions in the Choultry Court were subjected to an appeal to the Mayor's Court which, by itself, was an inferior tribunal, so that even as early as November 1727, Government erected a Sheriff's Court in which petty causes could be decided without appeal in all cases, where the judgment involved a sum of five pagodas and less ; in other causes an appeal should lie to the Mayor's Court. The Sheriff was also to be in charge of the registration of slaves and sales of houses and lands. The Justices of the Peace were directed to take cognizance of all breaches of the peace, petty thefts and crimes ; they were to inflict corporal punishment on the offender for the smaller offences and for the more serious ones they were to commit the offenders to the sessions. For other offences they were to commit the offenders to the Choultry and report their crimes to the Board at the next meeting. It was also proclaimed to the inhabitants that all murders, breaking open of houses and robberies by night would be punished with death. Shortly afterwards the Sheriff's Court was abolished by direction of the Court of Directors as from July 1729 ; and the Justices of the Peace again began to sit at the Choultry Court and dispense petty justice.

Before the end of 1749 the old Choultry Court was reestablished at Madras. In consequence of the French occupation of the city and since the Mayor and most of the Aldermen were either dead or absent from India, the Mayor's Court and its powers were held to have been dissolved. Therefore it was considered desirable to issue a fresh Charter. The Charter of 1726 was consequently recalled and a new grant was made in its place by King George II, on the 8th of January 1753. The Corporation was to be reconstituted and was to be called "the Mayor and Aldermen of Madraspatnam", and composed of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of whom should be natural-born subjects of the British King and the other two might be foreign

Protestants. Two persons were to be elected by the Corporation annually from among the Aldermen on the first Tuesday in December and presented to the Governor and Council who was to make the final choice of the Mayor from among them. The Aldermen were to continue in office for life. Cornelius Goodwin was nominated 'the next and modern Mayor of the said Town or Factory of Madraspatnam and William Percival, Dawsonne Drake, Robert Clive, Samuel Banks, John Walsh, Samuel Greenhaugh, George Mackay, Andre Ross and William Roberts, Merchants, as "the next and modern Aldermen"

(*To be continued*)

ANCIENT INDIAN
PRINCIPLES OF OCCUPATION
OF
CONQUERED TERRITORY.¹

[By DR. S. C. SARKAR, M. A., D. PHIL. (*Oxon.*)]

[The 4th century B. C. saw great conquerors and statesmen, both in the Hellenic and in the Indian worlds, who also came into mutual contact. Just as this decade of the 20th century has been dominated by the Big Four, there was another decade in the 4th century B.C. when the civilised world was led by another Big Four,—Alexander and Aristotle, Chandragupta and Kauṭilya. Great Wars were fought with extensive conquests and occupations, and great political and cultural readjustments of equal importance were made then as well, 22½ centuries ago. It is thus important for the student of comparative world history, to remember what one amongst those Big Statesmen of the ancient past had to say about the approved policy of victorious powers governing occupied territories of the defeated powers. Political experience and wisdom will be then found not to have changed very much, at least in many essentials,—and it may be that even the creative statesmen of to-day might find a point or two of ancient wisdom worth working out and emphasising in our post-War world.—It is not only Kauṭilya who has left his thoughts on War and Peace, but also his worthy successor and ‘displacer’, the great Aśoka,—whose teaching and wisdom deserves to be given a special treatment and to be reemphasised to day in the back-ground of the 2 World Wars.—It

1 Kauṭilya, XIII, 5. Most of the translations of Kauṭilya that have so far appeared, are in the nature of superficial lexiconic renderings; this translation is a scientifically literal one, from the point of view of not only a Sanskritist and Indologist, but also from that of a student of History, Economics and Politics, as well as of Languages and Literatures.

The words and phrases within brackets are intended to complete the meaning or the idiom, or to suggest an alternative form of expression, or another possible meaning.—It should be remembered that Kauṭilya wrote in the form of a ‘Sūtra’, and each of the terse phrases or sentences he uses carries more of import than appears on the face of it, and is capable of very great expansion, like certain sentences of the essays of Bacon (with whom Kauṭilya has many similarities).

will be noticed from the following brief citation of only one chapter from Kautilya' that he was not the 'blood and iron', 'Machiavellian', 'cruel and unscrupulous', 'dark' politician, that the average text-book writer makes him out to be: he combines in him the democracy of a Stalin, the efficiency of a Hitler, and the idealism of a Wilson,—the imperialism of a Churchill and the patriotism of a Chiang.]

KAUTILYA, XIII. 5.

The emergence of a victorious power (may happen) in two ways S 1
(locations),—in forest plains and other similar (environments), or in S. 2
a township and other similar (environments).¹—Its acquisitions (gains) S. 3
(can be) of three types: fresh,² possessed (shortly) before (but lost),³ S 4
ancestral (long lost, but redeemed).⁴

When new territories are acquired, (the victor) should cover S 5
(overshadow, drown,) the blemishes of the enemy power by his own
(good) qualities (or merit), and (the latter's) good points by (his own)
doubly good points.⁵

He should pursue (so act as to ensure) the welfare and pleasure (or S. 6
approval) of the people (of the conquered country),⁶—by his own right-
eous administration and laws, by his social and religious ceremonial,⁷

1 That is, the declaration of victory and occupation, and the acceptance thereof, may happen either in the field of battle in the course of campaigning, or in a township surrendered and entered where the victors' GHQ is set up. The classification of possible sites of capitulation is 'urban' and 'non-urban' involving different procedures and arrangements.

2 Like the American acquisition of certain Pacific islands in this war: or even the 'temporary' occupation of Germany, Ita'y, N. Africa, Balkans and Japan, etc.'

3 Like reoccupation of Burma, Malaya, etc., by England in this war.

4 Like French redemption of Alsace-Lorraine, or Russian redemption of Far Eastern territories, bases, etc., in this war.

5 Thus Kautilya would have advised the Allies to give to the Germans, Italians and Japanese the full benefits of a free democratic government forthwith, instead of harping upon the evils of the Fascist, Nazi or Mikado regimes and thus giving them prominence, or rousing animosity. He would further have advised them to emulate and surpass the Axis powers in their acknowledged good points,—e. g., to raise the standard of scientific education and scholarship or application of science to industries in occupied Germany, or to help materially and forthwith in the growth of free democratic and advanced peoples and states in Asia, promised 'co-prosperity' and 'independence' by Japan.

6 This purpose can hardly be said to be in the front line of the allied approach towards the occupied countries.

7 Though to some extent the Allies may be said to have introduced better administration of law and justice, hardly any attempts have been made to win over the conquered people by social and religious activities or approach.

favours and assistances,¹ relinquishments and exemptions,² donations,³ honours and public works.⁴

- S. 7 He should gratify by gifts (win over by offer of favours) the sullen and apprehensive parties,⁵ in fulfilment of promises made in the proclamation (of victory) addressed (to them).⁶

The gratification should be on a larger scale for those (parties) who made efforts (in the victor's favour).

- S. 8
S. 9 (A victor) who goes back upon his declarations becomes distrusted by the people of the enemy country as well as by his own people; also one who acts against the interests of the masses of the people.⁸

- S. 10 Hence (victors) should adopt the same (standards of) conduct, costumes, language and customs as (the people of the occupied country);⁹

- S. 11 And should conduct themselves with regard towards the gods (worship), associations (or social groups or guilds), festivals and fairs, pastimes and amusements.⁹

1 Feeding and clothing by the Allies exemplifies.

2 Few instances known in present cases.

3 Included, like 1 above, within UNRAA activities.

4 'Honours' would probably be unthinkable to-day. Some 'public works' to assist the occupied country are said to have been started by Russia, but probably more in her own interest.

5 'Sullen' for loss of power and country; 'apprehensive' of retribution and punishment.

6 Kauṭilya evidently has in mind an usual Declaration of Policy to the conquered after victory, couched in conciliatory terms and setting forth generous principles. Such manifestos would correspond to the Atlantic Charter, Frisco Declarations, Russian manifesto to Germans from Berlin, Potsdam Declaration, etc., of the present day.

7 They alone amongst enemy subjects are gratified to-day.

8 In the present world situation, for instance, disinclination to apply the Atlantic Charter, or the whittling down of the Frisco Principles, has led to distrust and discontent not only among the defeated peoples but also among the peoples within the folds of the victorious powers, and even among political parties at the central government of some of the victorious allies.—Kauṭilya's wisdom and historical insight is further illustrated by the second part of this dictum, where he thinks victors in general cannot afford to go against popular interests, i.e., the greatest support of victorious powers is democracy and the proletariat satisfied, for it is only a 'people's war' that can win both war and peace.—The way Kauṭilya would have directed post-war peace policy is quite clear: he was plainly a 'Leftist' in politics 'on the higher plane'.

9-9 This goes directly against the modern tendencies. It is not only 'fraternisation', but also 'identification',—involving a cultural assimilation and spiritual healing of wounds.—a policy in keeping with the traditional Indian attitude towards other men, and followed throughout the history of Indian Colonisation and expansion into 'Greater India' overseas and overland.—Even where 'fraternisation' is recommended to-day, it becomes mostly confined to 'friendship with enemy girls'; that 'fraternisation' is most profitably and honourably practisable in the fields of social conduct, costumes, language, customs, worship, social and political or economic associations, clubs, pastimes and amusements, sports, festivals and fairs,—has probably never struck modern politicians,—or they are afraid of such contact in a world they have built on hatreds.

Amongst the leading men of the countryside, the townships, the S. 12 social sections, and the associations and corporations, officers of the secret service (or propagandists) should repeatedly point out the baneful activities of the (defeated) enemy power;¹

And the magnanimity of their master towards them, and his regard S. 13 for them ; as also his present beneficent measures.²

Thus he may enjoy (lordship) over them, by proper levy of dues, S. 14 remissions and exemptions, protection and careful supervision.³

(The victor) should instruct (his administration) to honour and S. 15 endow all the temples and the monasteric educational institutions (of the country), and make gifts of lands and goods, or grant remissions of and exemption from dues (or taxes), to leading personalities amongst the scholars, the orators and jurists ;³

Also to release all imprisoned (by the previous government) and S. 16 withdraw all (previous) restrictions (of liberty), and to grant relief to the impoverished, orphaned and diseased.⁴

Executions should not take place (or be ordered) [or, should be S. 17 commuted] on (specified) days amounting to half a month in a period of four months ; also on four nights (days) of the full moon (within the S. 18 same 4-month period); and for each of the nights (days) wherein the

1-1 These are being done to-day by the victorious powers, except that 'regard for the defeated' is not expressed, and there is not much of magnanimity to demonstrate.

2 Only Chiang-Kai-Shek's government has notified appreciable remissions and exemptions in the re-occupied Chinese provinces.

3 Though the importance of the institutions of education is recognised to-day in a scheme of 'occupation', yet the approach is in the direction of using and controlling them 'politically', not honouring and endowing, and carrying them along with the victors ; the institutions of religion are considered of little value in a political reshuffle, —perhaps a grave mistake. It would be interesting to know what the U. S. A. or the U. S. S. R. would think of a suggestion that the allied occupation armies and administration should 'honour and endow' the shrines of the Mikado. Mc Arthur has, however, begun to deal with religion in Japan, though in a different manner. Victors these days recognise the importance of obliging enemy scientists and public men, but not intellectuals in general, and they do not always include enemy jurists within their range of favour. Kauṭilya is shrewder in seeing that a new political order can be upheld better with the support of the intellectuals, the public speakers and the jurists, who, together could give the desired or the satisfying interpretation of the changes.

4 This is being done, particularly the work of relief ; but occasionally new restrictions on political liberty are being imposed.

- 19 constellation under which the (victorious) ruler acceded (to power or throne) and the country (was occupied), (appears).¹
- 20 The killing (execution) of women and children and sterilization (emasculatation) should be prohibited.²
- 21 Those characters (personalities), however, who may be found (considered) to be harmful (injurious) to the revenues and treasury, or to the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice, and to be pursuant of unlawful activities,—should be removed and replaced by the Rule of the Law (or by men who conduct themselves according to the Law).³
- 22 Habitual or professional criminals and (men of) foreign (barbarian) tribes should be made to change their settlements and be distributed amongst many settlements;⁴ so also the chief officers of the fortresses, of the state departments, and of the army and the judicial administration.⁴
- 23 So also, the ministers, chaplains and other officials of the enemy state (over thrown), who had been favoured and benefited by it, should be caused to reside in dispersed settlements at the frontiers of the occupied country.⁵

1 In other words, an appreciable loophole is provided for commuting death sentences on political or war criminals, in that such commutation could be (or had to be) ordered on 20 (14+4+1+1) days out of each period of 120 days: quite an useful and politic device. Examples of the last two days specified in the text would be, Independence Day (for U. S. A.) and May Day (for U. S. S. R.), or Berlin Entry Day and 'Missouri' Day.

2 These three activities are said to have been the special delight of the Axis Powers, and Poland has perhaps suffered most from them. Kautilya's prohibition shows that from time to time, in and before 4th century B. C., certain Indian or Asiatic or East-European and North-African powers committed these atrocities: perhaps 'the viciously valiant Yavanas', or Mesopotamians and Iranians inheriting Assyrian traditions. Probably even with allied powers to-day, women and children as such are not exempt from execution as war-offenders. Kautilya would have gladly hanged the Belsen criminals.

3 That is, the occupying government should not proceed to wipe out systematically all who were *bona fide* adherents of the previous government, but should rather let their punishment fall heavily on the obstacles to the Rule of the Law established by it; in other words, executions or heavy sentences should be more in the name of the Law than in the name of Politics or Revolution.—A good point for modern statesmen to note.

4-4 This has often been done in European Settlements after political conquests, from the Middle Ages onwards. Kautilya presumes that as far as possible the military and civil government of the displaced power is to be continued, though with safeguards as indicated here.

5 The ecclesiastical and conciliar members of the previous Court are decentralised and deputed on far away jobs in the hope that they might gradually sink into insignificance.

Those of them who (remain) capable of doing harm, or are (found S. to be) not dwindling in power after the fall of their masters, should be subdued by secret punishments.¹

Or they may be removed from their stations, and either the S. victors' own countrymen or those imprisoned (before) by the (defeated) enemy may be posted in places thus vacated.¹

However, unto one who belongs to the same family as (the defeat- S. ed ruler), and is (regarded as) able to retain restored (territories),—or unto some (chieftain) of noble birth, stationed in the frontiers or forest-regions, (able) to repel (raids and aggressions),—(the victor) should make over lands which have no special qualities.²

Or a fourth part of (even) the most valuable tracts (may be made S. over), on condition of supply of revenues and army, in fulfilling which he must enrage the citizens and the country people.³

With (the support of) these, he can (then) be struck down; or he may be S. removed as having been censured and denounced by the people;³ or he may S. be re-settled in a region where violence is rampant (or risk to life is great).⁴ S.

In the case of (recovery of) what was (possessed) before (but had S. been recently lost),⁵ those faults of the people (nationals) [or, those defects of character] for which it could be taken away, should be con-

1-1 If expectations are not fulfilled, these three methods are to be tried according to suitability : (a) displacement by men of the conquered nation who were suppressed by the previous regime, (b) same, by men of the conquering nation, (c) removal by 'secret punishment' (ranging from semblance of trial, in camera, and concentration camp, to in direct assassination or contrived accident);—methods quite familiar to modern Europe.

2 As in the case of the Italian Crown Prince over the lower half of Italy, Hirohito should thus have been dealt with in a very different manner, Kauṭilya would have liked him to be replaced, in bleak Sakhalien only, by another member of the family who would declare that Hirohito had misinterpreted the Sun Goddess' will by launching an aggressive war, and that he was going to do penance for the sin. Then Kauṭilya would manoeuvre a rising in Sakhalien, and thus wipe out the last traces of the old Regime.

3-3 The policy being to satisfy a section of the conquered people by setting up a local ruler, but to handicap him from the start, and then to undermine his position effectively, by contriving to set the people against him,—so that the arrangement may be declared a failure and the people be persuaded that complete foreign occupation is better. This line was successfully followed by the East India Company in India.

4 An example of removal by 'secret punishment' above.

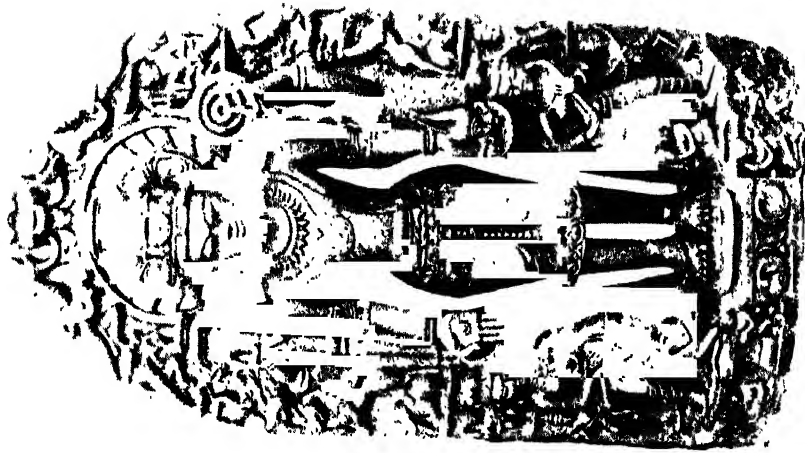
5 The second of the three types noted in sūtra 4 above.

- S. 32 cealed (or suppressed); and those qualities whereby it is recovered should be (further) sharpened (strengthened).¹
- S. 33 In the case of ancestral (ancient) territories (redeemed),² the faults and defects of the predecessors should be concealed (kept unrevealed
- S. 34 and undiscussed); but their merits should be given publicity,²
- S. 35 Lawful and righteous conduct and measures should be introduced and promulgated, whether these were followed and taken by other powers (replaced,) or not; but no unrighteous and unlawful conduct and measures should be introduced and promulgated; if such had been done by other powers (replaced), they should be withdrawn (prohibited) and repealed.³

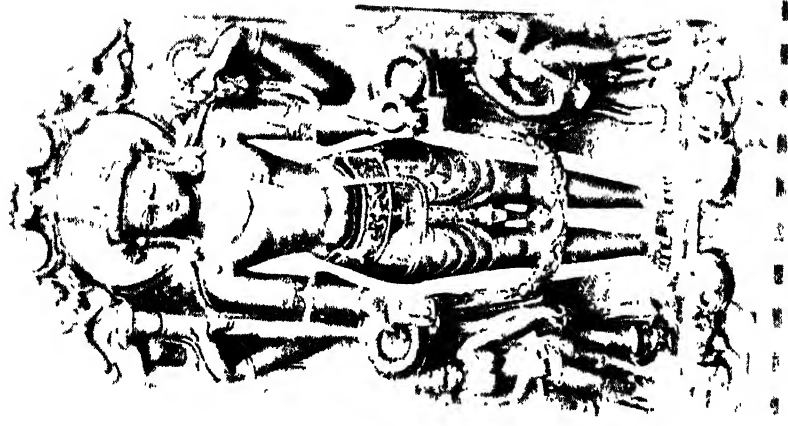
1 From Kauṭilya's standpoint, therefore, the Americans have not been wise in publicly quarrelling about the "blame of Pearl Harbour",—the British are wiser in not saying much about how Singapore, Malaya and Burma were lost, and should not follow the U. S. A. example,—the U. S. S. R. has shown its prudence in not discussing its great retreat to the Caucasus but in emphasising the great qualities of the Soviet Army and Government as causes of its ultimate success,—and Japan has been equally wise in ignoring the defects in its national character, policy and organisation that led to disastrous defeat, while it is busy rebuilding (for consumption of the outside world at any rate) a fresh social and international outlook in the nation, that could be called praiseworthy by other powers and would save its own face. So also, with the recovery of Eastern Colonies and possessions, Britain should, according to Kauṭilya, emphasise indebtedness to and friendship and community of interests with India and China, and should strive for the spiritual loyalty of the East ensured by offer and measures of democratic self-rule and of freedom.

2-2 The third type of sūtra 4. This recommendation would apply very well to Russia and China to-day, with their none too bright histories before 1917 and 1911 (or even later).

3 That is, lessons in lawful and righteous conduct and measures should be learnt even from defeated and conquered countries.



I. Vishnu, stone Image from V. Eksari; Saran
Patna Museum



II. Vishnu stone Image from V. Eksari, Saran.
Patna Museum.

THREE INTERESTING MEDIAEVAL SCULPTURES FROM DISTRICT SARAN.

By S. A. SHERE, PATNA.

Of the three sculptures, the subject of this Article, two are of Viṣṇu and one of Nṛtta-Gaṇapati (Dancing Gaṇeśa)¹. These are now safely housed at the Patna Museum.²

The sculptures were found in the village called Eksari, Police Station Ekma in the Saran District. They are in black schist stone of the type generally found in temple door-frames and sculptures of the Pala dynasty. Fortunately all three sculptures are in a perfect state of preservation and wholly undamaged.

The first of these images is a beautifully executed figure of Viṣṇu of the Trivikrama type, the whole sculpture measuring 48"×23½"×9½". The four-handed Viṣṇu holds in his upper left hand Cakra, lower left Śankha, upper right Gadā, and lower right Padma. He is shown with Laksmī with a Chaurī and Sarāsvatī with a Viṇā standing on his right and left sides respectively and with donors kneeling on either side of his feet. Avatāras (Buddha and Kalki) and devotees are shown in the pedestal. On the pointed top of the stele are Varāha and Narasiṃha and Kūrma and Matsya to either side issuing from Kṛttimukha. Then there are flying Gandharvas on either side and leogryphs below them. Still further down are the figures Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Raghurāma and Kṛṣṇa and two attendants, one beside Laksmī and one beside Sarāsvatī. The stele is cut off around Viṣṇu and the halo is shown with triangular perforations (Fig. 1). It will thus be seen that this is a very complete representation of Viṣṇu with all his canonical attributes.

¹ For the discovery and collection of these valuable relics of ancient civilisation, I am grateful to Mr. C. J. Creed, O.B.C., M.C., I.P., Inspector General of Police, Bihar, who always takes a live interest in the Patna Museum, and to the District Magistrate of Saran, Major S. R. Adair, I.C.S.

The other image of Viṣṇu measuring 40"×19½"×6" is also of the Trivikrāma type but his ten incarnations do not appear here as in the previous one. Only the flying Gandharvas and Lakṣmī and Sarāsvatī standing on Viṣṇu's right and left with Chourī and Viṇā respectively, with an attendant on either side are shown in this image. The stele though cut off around Viṣṇu, the halo has no triangular perforations as in the previous sculpture (Fig. 2).

It may be mentioned that other excellent examples of Viṣṇu image of the mediaeval Bihar type are to be seen at Devathala, Dinajpore, (Bengal),¹ and in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as also in the Patna Museum.²

And now we come to the *pièce de resistance* of these three sculptures viz., the Nṛtta Gaṇapati (Dancing Gaṇeśa) measuring 24½"×12½"×3½" (Fig. 3). According to Rao,³ a distinguished writer on Hindu Iconography, such an image of Gaṇeśa should have eight hands but our image has only six hands in five of which he holds the *aṅgulīya* (u. r), *Kuthāra* (l. r), the *coil serpent* (u. l.), the ruby-pot with *modukas* (l. l.) and the *danta* (m. l.); while the sixth hand is shown as hanging freely in order to accentuate the dancing posture. His bulky belly is girdled by a serpent, while the sacred thread which is also in the form of a serpent, hangs from over his left shoulder. As regards the number of hands, Rao also says and so does Bhattacharya that images of this figure have generally only four hands⁴ but according to the Tantras he has in some cases eight or more hands.⁵ In the Purāṇas it is mentioned that he has mouse as his vehicle and a serpent as his holy thread and our image shows these appendages. The image is wearing a three-tiered crowned like headdress and above it are two flying Gandharvas carrying garlands and between them at the crest is a piece of flower-like ornamentation. Two attendants in dancing posture with musical instruments, lyre and *Khanjura*, are shown on the pedestal on either side of the dancing Gaṇeśa. The mouse appears in a niche of the pedestal below the dancer's feet.

1 See Chunningham, A. S. Report, Vol. XV, Pl. XXVII.

2 *Annual Reports of the Patna Museum*, 1929, P. 17 and 1938, P. 29.
Nos. 6361 and 8203.

3 *Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, p. 59.

4 *Ibid.* P. 59.

Indian Images by B. C. Bhattacharya. Pl. I, P. 24.

5 *Indian Images* by B. C. Bhattacharya. Pl. I, p. 24.



III — Dancing Ganesa stone Image from V. Eksari, Saran.
Patna Museum.

Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya refers to a dancing Gaṇeśa of the Muttra Museum and also reproduces on plate XV¹ of his book entitled *Indian Images* another figure of Gaṇeśa said to be dancing. This figure hardly appears to be dancing and on the other hand answers more or less to the following description of the Prasanna Gaṇapati, who, according to Rao², is "described as a standing figure which has either a few bends in the body or is perfectly erect. In two of his hands he should hold the *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa* while the remaining two are to be one in the *Varada* and the other in the *abhaya* pose. In regard to this, however, there is generally a difference observable between what is found in the actual sculptures and the description given in books. Prasanna Gaṇapati is not seen in actual sculptures to have two of his hands in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses, but is made to hold in them a *añṭa* and a *modaka* respectively, the latter of these being represented as if it is being picked up with the trunk, to be lifted and put in to the mouth³".

Another illustration labelled "Ganapati dancing" is to be found in Mr. H. K. Sastri's *South-Indian Images*³; but this figure again conforms, more or less, to Mr. Rao's description of Prasanna Ganapati, though a movement of the dance is indicated in it. However that may be, there can be no doubt that in our image the movements of the dance are vigorously executed and forcibly emphasised. The whole sculpture is inclining to the movements of the dance with a rythmical sway that stamps the work as a unique masterpiece.⁴

These sculptures probably belong to the late Pala period. The Pala kings were devout Buddhists and Buddhism was their State religion with the result that many sculptures found in Bihar are Buddhistic. But it must be remembered that Brahmanism never died out and the two religions have existed side by side for centuries. Therefore we find in the art of the period within the Pala kingdom

¹ *Ibid*, P. 25.

² *Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopinath Rao, Vol. I., Pt. I., P. 57

³ Fig. 110., P 172,

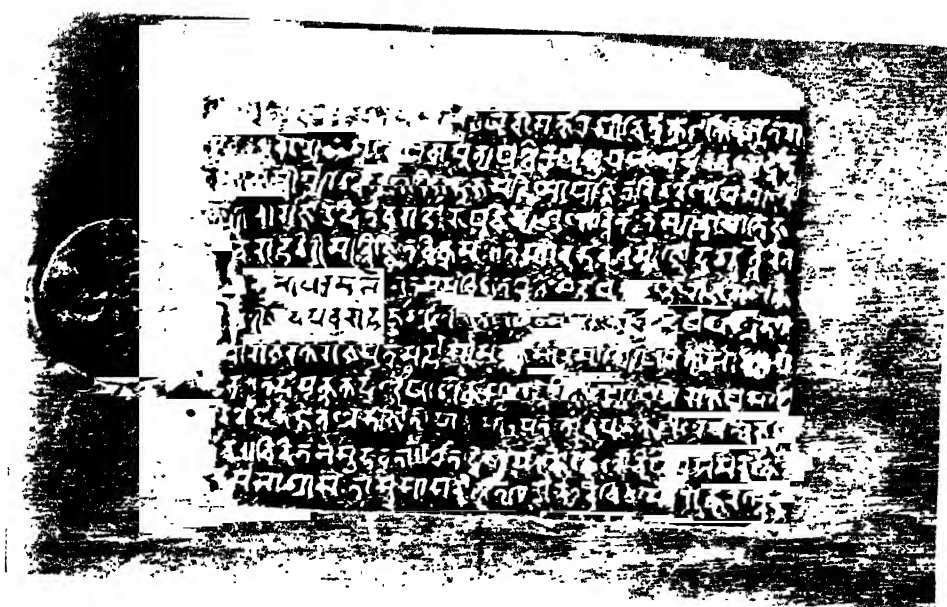
⁴ So far as is known to the writer no Public Institution possesses an example of the dancing Gaṇeśa so splendidly executed and in such an excellent state of preservation. The Patna Museum may justly be proud to possess so unique a sculpture. But for the persistent efforts of its ex-President, Mr. P. C. Manuk, this valuable image would have remained unknown to the world outside village Eksari.

images of Hindu deities executed by the sculptors irrespective of the creed to which they may be dedicated. As Vincent Smith¹ so lucidly puts it, "Mediaeval Buddhism in its Tāntric forms approximated so closely to the Brahmanical Hinduism that even a skilled observer may sometimes hesitate to decide as to the religion for the service of which the image was destined".

1 History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 184.



Bonai Copper Plate of Udaya Varāhadeva



Bonai Copper Plate of Udaya Varāhadeva

THE BONAI COPPER PLATES OF UDAYA
VARĀHA DEVA.

By P. ACHARYA, B. SC.

(With Plates).

This copper-plate is one of the two copper-plates from the Bonai State published without facsimile plates in Vol. VI, pp. 236-245 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1920 by late Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri, M. A., C. I. E. . I happened to see at Ranchi in May 1936 the original copper-plate in possession of late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M. A., B. L., who first collected it, and on cursorily going through the lines I detected the mistake in reading of the text in lines 2 and 7 where *Vaṇāīmaṇḍala* has been clearly written but the late editor read it as *Talāīmaṇḍala*. This made me curious to redecipher the plate a photograph of which is enclosed with this article. At my request Raja Dharanidhara Indra Deo, the Ruling Chief of the Bonai State of Orissa, was very kind to request Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy for sending me the plate, and thus I had the ample leisure to study it carefully. It throws light on the existence of a ruling family about which even the tradition is silent. I gratefully thank Raja Saheb of the Bonai State for giving me the opportunity of examining the original plate.

My readings given below are improved in many places. Mm. H.P. Sastri read only "Vasīṣṭha "Vāsaka Sri Chitrakūta Vinirgatarā" in line one of the plate but letters here give definitely the following reading. :—

OmSvastiprahasītasamastarṣivāsakāt SriChitrakūta vinirgata
rá

Although the first few letters are worn out to some extent yet no one can actually find there any reading of 'Vasīṣṭha Vāsaka'. 'Prahasita-samasta-ṛṣivāsakāt' is the concluding portion of the text which describes the place of issue of the copper-plates of the Tunga

Dynasty, and¹ particularly the Bonai copper-plate of Vinita Tunga which was edited along with this plate by late Mm. H. P. Sastri gives the following text.

1. 1." Oṃ svasti āvaddhoddhata dvipagandasthala-mada-maṇina-madhukarāvali-saṃku.

1. 2. lairekapradosād vibudhyate yo vipravaraiṃ rksāmayajurveda dvanibhirnnivaha

1. 3. pratikṛtah sakalajanapada-anāvaratadvijahuta-hutavahodga tadbhūmasaṃchaya.

1. 4. prahasita-samasta-ṛṣivāsakāt."

This similarity of text dispels all doubt about the accuracy of my reading. In his "Dynasties of the Mediaeval Orissa" P. 62 Pandit Binayak Misra remarks that "the eulogical text of the grant of the Mayur family is a replica of that of the Tunga grants." In support of this it may be stated that the portion "Saṃvīryāschahūto nijabhujā mahimōpārjitā nischalā yasya Lakṣmī" in the line 3 of this grant seems to have taken from the following verse of the grant of Vinita Tunga :—

Saṃvīryāschā bhūto nijabhujā mahimōpparjitā śrī balavān

Rājāvanāryasātro satatamapivalā nischalā yasya lakṣmī."

Now the question naturally arises as to why the portion of the text of the inscriptions of the Tunga rulers was borrowed or adopted by the Varāha rulers. No connection of the Tunga family with the Varāha family has yet been found. It is curious that the name of one Vilāsa Tunga is mentioned in the Jayapur copper-plate of Devānanda Deva.² Pandit Binayak Misra has suggested that "Vilāsa Tunga seems to be an adjective of Devānanda"³ The name of one Vibhrama Tunga has been found in the same manner in the Adipur copper plate grant of Narendra Bhanja Deva of Khijjinga Kotta³ (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). I am unable to suggest any explanation excepting this that there was some family connection of these ancient ruling families with each other. The stone inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions the name of

¹ J. B. and O. R. S. , Vol. XV, pp. 87-97.

² Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 35.

³ E. I. Vol. XXV. P. 155-56.

one Dharanī Varāha who installed the image in the reign of Rāya Bhanja. It is not exactly known who was this Dharanī Varāha.

As regards the reading of Vaṇai in lines 2 and 7 I am sure that it is absolutely correct. The shape of other letters of *Va* and *ṇa* found in line 2 and elsewhere is similar and quite distinct from letters of *ta* and *la* that occur in this inscription. The importance of reading of Vaṇai lies in the fact that there now exists an Indian State in Orissa bearing the same name and its Ruler has got the emblem of the peacock like that of the Bhanja ruling families of Orissa which has been carved out in the seal of this copper plate. Although the ruling family of Bonai claim descent from Kadamva family of Sākaladip or Ceylon according to tradition, yet it records that "in gratitude for this service the peacock was adopted as the family crest" by the founder of the family who was rescued from danger by the bird peacock under a Kadamva tree.¹ So it may be said that the tradition of the Kadamva origin of the Raj family of the Bonai State is a modern one.

Mm. Sastri's another inadvertent mistake in reading is the village name Kolāmcha which he read as Koṇara whence the Brahmins came. The strokes of *ā* and *m* are clear and the other letters *ra* and *ṇa* in the same line are different. Many inscriptions of Orissa and Bengal go to show that Brahmin families came as donees from Kolāmcha and other places of Madhyadeśa.

The plate mentions that Udaya Varāha had the title 'Paramasaugata' or devout worshipper of Sugata or Buddha, but he granted villages to Brahmins. An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions that one Dharanī Varāha established the image there and so it seems that he was a Buddhist. Such Buddhist titles are also met with in the Copper-plate inscriptions of Bhauma family² and Simha family³ of Orissa who granted villages to Brahmins. This shows that in those days the followers of Buddhistic and Brahmanic faiths maintained no distinction at all in Orissa.

The following office bearers have been addressed in connection with the grant by the donor:—

"Rājānaka—Rājaputra—Mahāsāmanta—Kumārāmātya-Uparika-

¹ Gazetteer of Orissa Feudatory States, pp. 143-144.

² Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa p. 16

³ *Ibid* P. 24.

Sāndhivigrahika—Tadáyuktaka—Daṇḍapāśika—Stānantarikānanyanapi
Rājaprasādina-śchāta-bhata-vallabhajātīn'

Here I intend to discuss to some extent the significance of these terms. Dr. Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State* has discussed at pages 110-136 on the terms of Rājánaka, Rājaputra Kumáramátya, Uparika, Daṇḍapāśika, Chāta, Bhaṭṭa etc. Dr. Prannath,¹ Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikhitar² and C. V. Vaidya³ have made attempts to explain some of these obsolete terms. Dr. U. N. Ghosal's⁴ attempt on the interpretation of some Revenue terms and Pandit Binayak Misra's note⁵ on some of these terms from Bhuma grants of Orissa deserve notice also. Besides these authorities there are many other notices in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* and other Journals which do not require specific mention.

Rājánaka:—Dr. Vogel notes that "in the *Rāja'aranginī* it is used in exactly the same sense as Rājánaka to denote a feudatory chieftain."⁶ "This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems therefore, to be a sanskritised rather than Sanskrit word." "It is the title by which the vassals of the Rājás of Chamba designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern *Rāñā*. It will be noticed that *Rāñaka* as well as the following *Rājputra* is a title of nobility or a class-name and not the designation of an official. But the fact that the members of those noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list⁸". I think the significance of the title is the very same here also.

Rājputra:—Dr. Vogel writes—"As to the word Rājaputra, literally 'a king's son or a prince' Dr. Fleet is of opinion that in such passages as the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces

1 A study in the Economic condition of Ancient India.

2 Hindu Administrative Institutions.

3 History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. 2 and 3.

4 Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue system.

5 Orissa under the Bhauma kings.

6 Antiquities of Chamba State, P. 110.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, P. 121.

Mārāṭhī ráut or *rāūt* and, 'Gujarāṭī rávat a horse soldier, a trooper,' which he derives from Skr. Rájaputra and believes to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with Rájánaka and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is, however possible that from its original sense of 'the son or near relative of a rájá' it has already like the modern Rájput, come to be used of the nobility in general." Vaidya interprets it as "Kṣhatriya warriors related to the kings."¹

Pandit Binayak Misra notes that "Rájputra (descendants of degenerated ruling families). In Orissa a class of people call themselves Rájput which seems to be the contracted form of Rájputra."² In Orissa there is a caste called Rajput whose status is equal to or little less than the Khandáyatas from which the *militia* of the country was generally recruited. There is an Oriya proverb "Rájput, āpaṇḍ-kāmakū majhabhut" that is, a Rajput is a very careful about his own business. So it cannot be said definitely whether the modern word Rájput can convey any sense of the ancient meaning of the word which has been attributed to it by Dr. Vogel.

Mahásāmanta :— Literally Sāmanta signifies that the owner is a vassal under the Ruling Prince and Mahásāmanta therefore may be taken as the head of a number of Sāmantas. Dr. Prannath has discussed fully on the significance of the term Sāmanta in his book on "A study in the economic condition of ancient India" Chapter I section II and III and chapter VI and nowhere mentions anything about the term Mahásāmanta. Mr. Dikshitar has also quoted from Śukranīti giving the meaning of the term. According to Śukranīti the officer of one hundred Grāmas⁴ is a Sāmanta whereas according to Maṇḍana-paṇḍita a ruler of 1000 grāmas⁵ is called a Sāmanta. So it is very difficult to understand the real significance of the term Sāmanta or Mahásāmanta. Vaidya interprets it as "the chief officer over the Sardars."⁶

¹ *Ibid.* P. 121.

² History of mediaeval Hindu India. Vol. II, p. 231

³ Orissa under the Bhauma kings, p 97.

⁴ Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 323

⁵ A study in the Economic Conditions of ancient India, pp. 37-38

⁶ History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, p. 231.

Kumārāmātya:—Dr. Vogel tried to explain the terms as follows: —“The office of Kumārāmātya is well known from Gupta Inscriptions. Whereas the word Rājāmātya as stated above, means ‘councillor of the king’, the term Kumārāmātya may be rendered by ‘councillor of the crown prince’. It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas, there existed, side by side with the State council, a special council to advice the heir-apparent who usually takes part in the State affair as coregent (Skr. Yuvarāja). The office of Kumārāmātya appear to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch.”¹

At the conclusion referring to an inscription on the stone Lingam preserved in the Lucknow Museum he writes “The inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A. D. 436) mentions a Pṛithvī-sena who was Mantri and Kumārāmātya and afterwards general (Mahāvalādhikṛta) under Kumāragupta I. As his father Sikhara-Svāmin is stated to have been Mantri and Kumārāmātya under Chandragupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary.” Mr. Vaidya interprets Mahākumārāmātya as “the chief officer over king’s sons.”² Pandit B. Misra has separated the word Kumārāmātya into Kumāra and Amātya and has translated Kumāra as the prince that is the younger son of a king and Amātya as the minister.³ Mr. J. C. Dey has objected to the probability of this sort of interpretation and has written that the title-holders as Kumārāmātya and Rājasthāniya were not the sons of the reigning kings in many cases and concludes that “it seems to be a fact that an extension of political power and a greater degree of administrative organisation necessitated the creation of these two classes.”⁴

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal’s following note clearly interprets the term supporting the view that the title has no connection with the blood relation of the sovereign of the country.

“We get light on this official term from Bhāṣa (Pratijñā Yougan dharāyana, II). When Śālaṅkāyana, Minister to king Prodyota

* Vaidya interprets it “ministers of the king” (*Ibid.* p. 231)

1 Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 123.

2 *Ibid.* p. 123.

3 History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, p. 231.

4 J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVI, p. 81 and Bhauma dynasty, p. 97.

5 *Ibid.* Vol. XVII 1931, p. 199.

Mahāsena, having captured king Udayana of Kausāmbī, brings him to one of the gates of Ujjayinī and the news is announced to the Mahāsena the latter ordered the Chamberlain, : ‘Gachha, Bharatarohakam bruhi “Kumāra-vidhi visisthena satkāreṇa.....
..pravesyatām Amātyah (ed. 1912 P. 33)”. Go and tell Bharatarohaka to receive [the Minister with the honours due to a (royal) prince.’ Bharatarohaka was the Prime Minister of Ujjayini. The king is here conferring an honour and a dignity on the minister Śālaṅkāyana whose title has been simply tatrābhavān Amātyah (p. 30) for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, son of Satānikam, grandson of Sahasrānika, the Vatsa king whose, ‘Bhārata pedigree goes back right into the Veda. It was the honour and dignity of Kumāra, that is, although not of royal blood, by virtue of the royal degree the Amātya was titled *Kumāra* and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette. He is distinguished from the real princes by being called Kumārāmātya ‘the prince the Minister’.

“This seems to be the real significance of the Kumārāmātya title of the inscriptions. Though not a prince by birth the grantee was made a titled prince.”

Uparika. This term is generally found either before or after the Kumārāmātya and Antaranga and Dr. Vogel writes that “There is nothing to indicate its meaning” Mr. J. C. Dey however writes that “the English equivalent for Uparikas will be Governors”. Mr. Vaidya interprets Rājastāniyōparika as the chief district officer”. The real meaning is uncertain.

Sandhivigrahika :—The term indicates that the officer was in charge of Sandhi (peace) and Vighraha (war) and it stands for the minister of peace and war or foreign minister in modern sense. Vaidya interprets it in the way stated above.⁴

Tadāyuktaka :—Here the word *Tat* makes the term very complex to understand. If it refers to Sandhivigrahin then it will mean the

¹ *Ibid*, P. 399.

² Antiquities of Chamda State, p. 123

³ J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVII, p. 199.

⁴ History of mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 231

officers concerned to the affairs of peace and war. According to *Kāmandakiya Nīti-Sāra*, quoted by Dr. Pran Nath, 'Āyuktakas' are "Servants employed by kings and feudal chiefs." from whom people are afraid of being oppressed. Āyuktakas were officers entrusted with Police duties according to the interpretation of Dr. Pran Nath, Mr. Vaidya's interpretation of Āyuktaka as 'Agent' is not clear at all².

Daṇḍapāśika. :—Dr. Vogel writes—"The term Daṇḍapāśika is derived from *Daṇḍa* and *Pāśa*, the latter words meaning 'sling or snare'. The compound Daṇḍa and Pāśa, may therefore, be rendered by 'rod and rope' the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement. From this it is evident that the Daṇḍapāśika originally at least was an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals³" Mr. Vaidya interprets it as "executor of punishment."⁴

Stānāntarika :—Mr. Dikshitar writes that Stānikas were one of the important officials in the rural areas according to Arthaśāstra. "The Stāniya was the officer in charge of the Stānika or a group of eight hundred villages. He was answerable to the finance minister or the Samāhartā.⁵" Dr. Pran Nath writes:—"A country (deśa) had an average area of 100 yojanas, so it was probably divided into 10 Janapaudas, and each Janapada in its turn was divided for administrative purposes into 4 *Stānas*, each stana being under the administration of a Stānika.⁶" He again writes.—"From the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya we learn that each Janapada was divided into four *Stānas* and each Stāna was governed by a Stānika (corresponding to the modern thānādār or Darogā). In that work the word Stāna generally contained a fort called Stāniya, which again was garrisoned by a force—half soldiers, half police—who are frequently referred to in copper-plate grants and other inscriptions as *Cāra-bhaṭas*, *Chāṭa-bhaṭas*, *Chāḍa bhaḍas* *Chāṭas* and *bhāṭas*" etc. But here we got the word Stānāntarika and not Stānika and after it, we have *Chātabhata* whose station

1 A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 58.

2 Vaidya-Vol, II, p. 232.

3 Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 129.

4 Vaidya Vol, II, p. 232.

5 Hindu administrative Institutions, p. 320.

6 A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 49.

7 *Ibid*, p. 59-60.

was the *Stāna* which was a place of terror. So the mention *Stānāntarika* along with *Chūṭabhata* may not have any connection with *Stāna*. Here it may be suggested that *Stānantarika* may be interpreted as Customs officers.

Chāṭa bhata :—Dr. Vogel took up first the thread of discussion and Dr. Pran Nath has elaborately discussed on the meaning of these terms. Dr. Pran Nath writes as follows “Chāṭas and Bhatas were persons employed for watch and ward, for collecting revenue and for arresting thieves and robbers. Some of them were in the services of Estate owners, and others under the officers in charge of Praganahs and Janapadas.¹ Mr. Vaidya takes them to be as “Policemen and soldiers”.

Vallabha :—Pandit Binayak Misra translates this term as the “favourite of king” Mr. Dey writes that “Vallabhas were apparently minor government servants.² ”

Chāṭas, Bhatas and Vallabhas have been given the epithet *Rajaprasādinah* which has been translated as those who were granted royal bounties. As the mention of these office bearers differ from one copper-plate grant to another, it is not possible to ascertain the complete list.

Condition of Grants.

The conditions of the grants consist of the following terms :—

1. *Nividharma*. The term *nividharma* has been interpreted by Dr. U. N. Ghosal as “the condition that the donee should not destroy the principal, but should make only use of the income arising from it.”³ Here the term is *Nividharmenā karatvena* and I am unable to suggest any interpretation for it.

2. *Sakhetaghatanadyetatstānadigulmakah* :—In Bhauma grants of Orissa these very conditions occur with many other privilege. Pandit B. Misra interprets them as follows⁴ :—*Kheṭa* means ‘hamlet’, *ghāṭa* means landing places on the bank of the river, ‘*nadyetatstāna* or *naditara stāna* means ‘ferry places’ and *gulmakah* means ‘thickets’.

¹ *Ibid.* P. 64·65.

² J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, P. 201.

³ Hindu Revenue System. P. 295.

⁴ Orissa under the Bhauma kings. P. 95

Dr. Ghosal has discussed only *Tara* or *Taradeya* interpreting as 'ferry-dues' and *gulmadeya* interpreting as the "dues paid at the military or police stations."¹ Dr. Pran Nath also interprets in the same way and writes "the king's taxes and other dues were first collected at the *gulma* headquarters."² So *Gulmaka* means an officer commanding a *Gulma*. Pandit Misra's interpretation therefore seems untenable. Similarly his interpretation of *Ghāṭa* as 'landing places' is equally untenable. I think the modern Oriya word for *Ghāṭa*, a place where customs dues etc. are collected. In early British records it is found that at a place called *Khuntā Ghāt* the rulers of Mayurbhanj used to collect pilgrims' tax from the pilgrims proceeding to Puri for their safe travel in the territory of Mayurbhanj. I have not been able to interpret the term *Kheṭa*.

In conclusion I intend to discuss the relation of this *Varāha* dynasty using the emblem of the peacock which is also the emblem of the modern Bhanja dynasties of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Baud, Daspalla, Kanika and now extinct Gumsar in Orissa and the ruling family of the Bonai State.

It is found in this grant that the founder, a *Rāṇaka* of the *Varāha* family was an imigrant from *Chitrakūta*, modern Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State in Rajputana. According to tradition recorded by Major Kittoe in 1837 in J. A. S. B. pp. 665-671, the founder of the Bhanja family came from Chitorgarh in Rajputana. The modern tradition of all the Bhanja families in Orissa goes to state that the founder was an imigrant from the Jaipur in Rajputana and this also gives the same geographical area of Chitorgarh. *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Gourisankar Ojha and other authorities have shown that there was established a branch of the Maurya family at Chitorgarh from the study of inscriptions. According to this tradition it seems that the Bhanja family may be the same as the *Varāha* family. Mm. H. P. Sastri was of opinion that both the families belong to one dynasty and wrote as follows :—

Varaha rulers belonged to "the Mayur or the Bhanja dynasty" and "in this charter we get three new names of the Bhanja dynasty. It

1 Hindu Revenue System. Pp. 292 and 298.

2 A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. P. 53.

is not yet possible to connect this group of kings with other groups of the same family.”

The copper-plate grants of the ancient Bhanja kings of Orissa have a bull in their seal but all the modern Bhanja dynasties together with the ruling family of the Bonai State, have got a peacock as their seal. In the tradition of Mayurbhanj as recorded in the Gazetteer of Orissa Feudatory States p. 239 we find that a Ruler of Mayurbhanj extended his territory by defeating one who had a peacock in his banner (Mayuradhvaja) and according to that dying king's prayers the conqueror adopted the seal representing peacock as his own. If this tradition is to be believed we have to assume that a king of the Mayura or Varāha family was defeated by a Bhanja king and this possibly gave rise to the naming of the State as Mayurabhanja. Pandit Binayak Misra holds this view and writes that “however, Mayurbhanja, the name of the State suggests itself that it owes its origin to the names of Mayura and Bhanja families.”¹ Pandit Misra's suggestion finds supports from the following account of Sir W. W. Hunter:—“But a fourth great city flourished under Hindu dynasties and Tamluk now an island river village of Bengal, formed the maritime capital of Orissa. One local legend relates how its kings conquered the later province in pre-historic times and gave their name to a great district within it; while a later tradition ascribes the foundation of Tamluk to the monarchs of Morbhanj, the largest and most powerful of the Orissa Tributary States. Certain it is that a most intimate connection subsisted between the two. The first king of Tamluk bore the title of “The Peacock Banner” (Mayuradhanja and Sikhidhwaja) and beget a long line of thirty-two princes of the warrior caste. This dynasty bore the heraldic device of the peacock exactly as the Morbhanj family does at the present day and it was succeeded by another line of four peacock kings who invaded Tamluk from the Morbhanj State thus giving rise to the later legend. The great district of Midnapore now stretches between Tamluk and the Morbhanj State; but the hereldic bird of the latter, the peacock, still surmounts the temple at Tamluk and Morbhanj Rajas long retained property in the intermediate tract.”²

1 J. B. and O. R. S., Vol. VI., P. 241-242.

2 Dynasties Mediaeval Orissa, P. 62.

3 Hunter's Orissa, Vol. I, Pp. 308-09.

9. hika Tadāyuktaka-Daṇḍapāśika Stānāntarikānanyanāpi Rāja-
praśādina
10. schāṭa bhāṭa vallabha jātiyān mānayati-vodhayati kuśalayatyā-
jñāpaya
11. ticha/Viditamastu bhavatām//Etadviṣaye Rokelā viṣaya sama
(mva) ndha Ko
12. dāsamāgrāmah tāmrāsāsanikṛtya//akṣayanividharmenā-
karatvena

Reverse.

13. pratipāditaḥ/tadeśāsmaddharmagauravādbhavadbhiḥ paipāi-
aniyah/
14. Prā (Parā) sa (śa) ra gotrāya/vasistha sa(śa)kti/pravarāya/
vājasana (neya) charaṇāya Kolāncha
15. vinirgatāya/Bhata Ujo (jjva) la paurāya Keśava Bhata putrāya
Bhata puro (ru)
16. sottomāya uttarāyana samkrāntyau tāmrāsāsanikṛtya āchan-
drārkaṇ bhavatā
17. Kauśika gotrāya triyaṣṣayapravarāyah/Bhata Tivikrama
Bhata Puru
18. so (so tta) ma sutāya Bhata Uchhāha dharmasutāya Bhata
bachhapāya/dharmenakaratve
19. na pratipāditaḥ/Uktaṇ cha dharmśāstre Vahubhirvasudhā
dattā rājabhīḥ saga
20. rādibhiḥ/Yasya yasya yadā bhūmistasyastasya tadā phalaṇ
/Mābhuda pha
21. lasamkā vaḥ paradatteti pāṛthivāḥ Svadattat phalarmā (mā)
nantyaṇ paradattā
22. nupalane/śva dattām paradattām vā yo haret vaḍundharām/
sa viṣṭhā
23. yām kṛmirbhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pachyate/sakheṭa-ghaṭana-
dita ta(a) sthā
24. nādi gulmakahsarvapīdavarjjitolekhanīpravesita/mātāpītro rā
25. tmanascha punyābhivṛddhaye/Duna dāsena grāmōyam
chatusīmā paryantākīṛṇa
26. cheti/grāma T-xta mālabbhūma/sapadra aranyah/Tālagachha.

SŪRYA-VAMŚĪ KINGS OF ORISSA.

By G. RAMADAS OF JEYPORE

Many historians wrote about these rulers and the last of them all was the late R. D. Banerjee who devoted three chapters to give the story of the first three of this dynasty of kings, but did not examine the correctness of the conclusions of M. M. Chakravarty published in the Journals of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. In the light of the finds of subsequent years, many of the statements made by these two savants are found to be incorret. I propose in these pages, to state the facts which I gathered in my search for truth in the history of Orissa.

Orissa was, for about four centuries and half, ruled and ruled prosperously by the Eastern Gaṅgas. But in the end owing to the rise of Moslem powers all around and also to the weakness of the last of the dynasty, it fell to disorder and disruption. Upon the decline of Delhi on the invasion of Timor, Sharkis established themselves at Jaunpur and gradually encroached upon the Eastern States as far as Tirhut. Ibrahim Shah (A. D. 1401-1440) used to give trouble very often to the northern part of Orissa. But the rise of Malwa and the invasion of Jaunpur by it under Hushang curbed the power of Ibrahim Shah Sharki from 1435 A. D. Once disguised as a merchant, Sultan Hushang Ghorī of Malwa set out for Jainagar. The ruler of that country accompanied by a small retinue visited the caravan. Hushang took him prisoner and hastened back ; while journeying together, Hushang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants, and added that, if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince therefore, sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty* “(Jarret's Aini-Akbari Vol. II p. 219 note).

* *Vide* App, C. last Remark

M. M. Chakravarti in his discourse on the 'Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, 1903) mistook the Rāy of Orissa *treacherously captured by Hushang* for Narasimha Deva IV and R. D. Banerji copied it in his history of Orissa, Vol. I. Inscriptions of the time of the successor were not available to M. M. Chakravarti. So he said, "This period has no inscriptions". (*ibid.* p. 139). The Temple at Simhāchalam preserves six epigraphs of Bhānu Deva IV, the son and successor of Narasimha Deva IV and they show (*vide* App. C) that Bhānu Deva IV reigned from cir A.D. 1415 to A. D. 1437 and since Kapilendra's government began from A. D. 1435, and Narasimha Deva IV's rule ended in A.D. 1405 it may be taken that Bhānu Deva was on the throne from A. D. 1405 to A. D. 1435. 'This Bhānu Deva IV was, by one version of Mādala Pāñji, called—Akaṭa-Abāṭa' (M. M. Chakravarti). Gāṅgavamśānucharitam a manuscript of which is preserved in the Govt. Oriental Library Madras and two copies of mss. in the Manuscripts under the care of the Bengal Asiatic Society, is a record of tradition as it existed in A.D. 1742 (Prāchī, part III Cuttack). It mentions, a Nishāṅka Bhānu and a Madhupa Bhānu as two different rulers separated by three generations "Madhupa Bhānu (Kajjala-Bhānu) when he went to conquer India, his ministers deposed him and gave the kingdom to Kapilendra Deva, a descendant of Anaṅga Bhīma Deva."¹

"(16) In the Gaṅga dynasty were many celebrated kings, and they had many celebrated Brāhmins as for their spiritual guides. Bhānu was their last king, who being addicted to women, perished."

"(17) The king Nishāṅka Bhānu having his head turned with pride and the Gaṅgavamśa having fallen prospered the kings of Solar-race, supported by the nobility of the land."

"(18) In that family was the king named Kapilendra Gajapati."² The last of the Gaṅga kings was Nishāṅka Bhānu and the epigraphs support the statement. He is named Gajapati Pratāpa Vīra Nishāṅka Bhānu deva in the inscriptions of Simhāchalam.

1. An account of a complete copy of Gāṅgavamśānucharitam is given in the 'Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-18-1900) by M.M.H.P. Sastry' P. 18 f.
2. Praśasti, given at the end of Bhakti Bhāgavatā Mahākāvya ; a free translation it is given by M.M.H.P. Sastri on p. 14 of his Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1901-1902 to 1905-1906).

From these evidences it is clear that the last king of the Eastern Gaṅga Dynasty of Orissa was Nishāṅka Bhānu Deva (IV) and when he died childless, perhaps, the nobles of the country made Kapilendra Deva their king.

The Prasasti (note 2) says that Kapilendra belonged to the solar-race. All authorities are uniform in saying that Kapilendra was of the solar race.

- (1) वंशे रघूणामुदपादि राजा भूजानिरादित्यसमिद्धतेजाः ।
रामाकृतः श्रीकपिलेन्द्रनामा सीमातिशायीश्वरतुल्यधामा ॥
(Sarasvati Vilāsam, Mysore edition, 1927, p. 5. verse 9)
- (2) पतिस्त्वपामस्ति सरोजिनीपतिस्त्रयीमयात्मा तमसां निपूढनः ।
प्रकाशसंवीतदिगम्बरं जनाः शिवस्य मूर्तिं समुदाहरन्ति यम् ॥
तदीयवंशे तदनुप्रतापवांश्चिरस्य राजा कपिलेश्वराह्वयः ।

(Anantavaram C.P. Andhra Patrika Annual 1928-29, pp. 167—180)
Here he is called Kapileśvara.

- (3) अस्ति त्रिलोकीग्रहमय्यदीपो भास्वान्विधिर्वेदनुतिप्रभावः ।
तस्यान्ववायप्रभवेषु गजराजस्वभूदुत्कलभूतलेन्द्रः ॥
आसीन्महात्मा कपिलेश्वराख्यः सर्वसहामण्डलसार्वभौमः

Idupulapādu pillar inscription No. 802 of M.E.R. of 1922)

All these and many more too insignificant to mention here confirm to the fact of Kapileśvara or Kapilendra being a Kshatriya of the Solar race. Mādala Panji, says M.M. Chakravarti, shows that Kapilendra got the throne probably with the aid of Bahmani king Ahmad Shah I. But this cannot be taken to be true as it is given in the Prasasti that he was supported by the nobility of the land; secondly the Bahmani king Ahmad Shah I was very often harassed by Kapileśvara and his generals. These Sultans were ever afraid of the Gajapatis of Orissa and consequently there were always feuds.

Whatever it may be, he was crowned on 2 Kakara, su 4 Wednesday of Aṅka 2 which corresponds to Wednesday, 29 June A. D. 1435. In Oriya Calendar (Pānji) the expired years of Kapileśvara era is given every year. 438 years of Kapilendra's era are said to have expired in A.D. 1933. The first year of Kapileśvara, is A. D. 1933—438 or A.D. 1435. The era is started at the time of Kapilendra's coronation. The

ing ascended the throne at Camp Krttivāva (Bhuvanēśvara).¹ The date recorded in Mādala Panji works correctly to Wednesday, 29th June A.D. 1435.

Immediately he was crowned, he went against the Mohammadan rulers of Bengal and Malwa and vanquished them. He appointed Gopinātha Mahapātra to guard the northern approaches into Orissa. This general was selected for this duty because it was he that had defeated the Malwa's ruler.

कृत्वा संयति मालवेन्द्रजयिनम् सेनाधिनाथं तु यम्
गौडेन्द्रस्य नितान्तमुत्कलपथा प्रस्थानरोधार्यलम् ।²

Having thus secured the northern border, the king turned to the south, where, the feudatories of the Gaṅgas were exercising independent authority; and also where the foreigners from the south were encroaching upon the southern dominions of the Eastern Gaṅgas.

Vēma Reddi, son of Allada Reddi conquered in A. D. 1435 the regions of Kalavalapalli (Sarvasiddhi Taluk, Vizag dist), Oddadi (Viravilli taluk) and Potnuru (Bhimilipatam Taluk).³ Though ostentatiously the three are individually enumerated, the whole tract comprising the three modern taluks formed a part of the province under the rulers of the Matsya family of Oddādi.

Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja of the Śilavamaṣī family of Nandapur conquered the whole country north of his capital up to Srikurmam and washed his sword in the sea. This country lay between the foot of the Eastern Ghats and the sea. This occupation was in A.D. 1435⁴.

Viraghattam, now in the Pālconda taluk threw away the overlordship of the kings of Orissa so long ago as A.D. 1420⁵

It is now necessary to fix the period during which Kapileśvara Gajapati was engaged with the Mohammadan rulers of Bengal and Malwa. Gopināthapura inscription tells us that the king had

1 J. A. S. B. Vol LXIX, No. 2, 1909. Footnote on p. 181. M. M. Chakravarti did not take the dates given in the Madala Panji because he could not calculate them correctly.

2 *Ibid.* An Inscription of the time of Kapiendra Deva of Orissa from Gopināthapura ll 16, 17. Verse 14.

3 S. I. I. Vol VI. No. 1168.

4 S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 1170

5 S. I. I. Vol VI No. 1101.

performed the Tulā-purusha dāna with the wealth he had brought from the south.

सदातुलितयच्छलापुरुषदानकालेऽर्पितान्
त्रिलोकविजयार्जितान्कनकपर्वतान्सर्वतः ।¹

It may be supposed, from the expression, 'triloka-vijayārjitān' in the above verse, that it is only an analogy sung by the Vandi-māgadhis. But Jivadevāchārya in the Prasasti given at the end of his work Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya says in verse 20, 'That king gave lands and wealth to Brahmans.' It may be presumed he had performed Tulā Purusha after his return from the south.

Moreover, Kapileśvara Gajapati's titles, 'Nava-Koṭi Karnāṭa Kalabargēśvara' tell us that he was the lord of the countries 'Navakoṭi', (2) Karnāṭa and (3) Kalabarga. After securing peace in the north of Orissa,

"Sri Khaṇḍādri-payodhar oṣarikaramnirmāya" he laid hand on the breast like '*S'ri Khaṇḍādri*', and subdued the country of Kānchi. None of the commentators of this verse have explained the locality of Navakoṭi or Śrī Khaṇḍādri². Because it is mentioned between the vanquishing of the rulers of Gauda, and Malwa in the north and Kānchi in the south, I understand it to mean the country from the Langulya to Gundala-Kamma river in the south.

Also, 'Bhramara-vara-nṛpāh'³ is a title given in the Gopināthapura Inscription (verse 6). This is a unique one not given in any record of

1 J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX part I. No. 2. 1900: Gopinathapure Ins. Verse 5.

2 J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX Part I. No. 2. 1900, p. 177 verse 14. M. M. Chakravarti understood the meaning of the quotation as, levied taxes over the Khaṇḍa hill'; but did not give a thought to identify it. 'Khaṇḍa means nine' (Sanskrit Dictionary, 'Sarvaśabda-Sambodhini, Madras 1875) Srikaṇḍādri means 'the wealthy region of the nine forts' The same as 'Nava-koṭi'. 'Navānāṁ Koṭānāṁ Samāhāraḥ Nava Koṭam; Nava Koṭam yasmin tat—Navakoṭi. The final long 'i' becomes short in a compound. 'Navakoṭi Karnāṭa Kalavargeśvara' is found in every colophon given at the end of every Uchhvāsa of Sarasvatī Vilasam by Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, the grandson of Kapileśvaradeva. Sri-khaṇḍādri for Nava-Koṭi and Kānchipura for Karnāṭa are synonyms used for metrical purposes. The Nine-forts indicated by the epithet 'Nava-Koṭi' were, Ballamkonda, Vinukonda, Kondavidu, Nāgārjunakonda, Rajamandry, Peddapuram, Kaluvalapalli, Oddadi, Potnūru. Rayavachakam an extract from which is given in the sources of Vijayanagar History by S. Krisnaswamy Iyengar 1919, mentions some of these forts to have been subdued by Krishnadeva Rāya. Therefore 'Nava-Koṭi' or 'S'ri-Khaṇḍādri' are expressions to indicate the whole region from Sīrṇhāchalām in the north to Nellore in the South. From the time of the Mohammadan occupation it is known as one of the 'Northern Circars.'

3 King of the Bhramaravara country.

the time of Kapilendra. M. M. Chakravarti is silent regarding its origin but says, 'Ferishta calls him "Amber Rai which is apparently a corruption of the title "Bhramaravara Rāya"—a title still given in Orissa to a prince not always the eldest one'.¹ No composition (literary) of this period gives this, none of these Gajapati kings is known with this title. I think it is a title borne only for a short time just as the early Gaṅga kings were called the 'Tri-kaliṅgādhi-patis' by securing the Tri-kaliṅga country—'Bhramara-koṭa' is a country mentioned in the inscriptions of Central Provinces. Rajapura plates of Madhurāntakadeva grants the village of Rajapura situated in the Bhramara Koṭya Maṇḍala². Bhramaravadra was one of the countries conquered by Śaṅapāla Deva of the Rājamalla race and Bhramaravadra is mentioned next to Machakasiha identified with Mechka Sihāwa, south of Damtari. Rājapura was a capital of the Kośala kings and is about 40 miles S. W. of Umarkot; Sihāwa also was an old capital and is at about the same distance North of Umarkot which appears to be a corruption of Bhramarakūṭa.—There are vestiges of ancient civilization in the region of Umarkot which is now full of impenetrable forests. The Bhramarakūṭa must have been the name of the country lying between 81° and 83°E and 19° 30' and 21°N. The epigraphs relating to Bhramarakūṭa and Bhramaravadra belong to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. respectively. Kapileśvara Gajapati or one of his generals might have conquered this country and obtained the title Bhramaravara nṛpa. He bore this title only after he had become the lord of all the countries indicated in them the full title found mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the 19th aṅka (A. D. 1450)³. The Kondavādu Copper plate grant of Gaṇadeva⁴ informs that prior to A. D. 1455—the date of the grant—Gaṇadeva had overcome two Turushka generals and consequently was made a Rauta-Rāya. The inscription at Chintapillipādu⁵ is dated A. D. 1454 April 12, Friday and it gives all the titles. For the earlier achievements the history of the neighbouring countries must be consulted.

1 King of Bhramaravara country.

2 J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX, Part I, 1900, p. 184.

3 Descriptive Lists of Ins. in C. P. Berar by Hiralal, Nos. 1245 and 207.

4 *Ibid.* No. 12. Kondavidu C. P., I. A. Vol XX, p. 390 f.

5 *Ibid.* No. 10. M.É.R. 1944 App. B. No. 70.

Devarāya II of Vijayanagara died in A.D. 1446¹ and his son Mallikārjuna ascended the throne and had regular coronation in April 1447 A. D. Gangadāsa-pratāpavilāsam² says that Devarāya having gone to adorn the court of Indra, the Bahmani Sultan combined with the Gajapati laid seige to Vijayanagara : The Bahmani Sultan, Ala-ud-din, ascended the throne almost at the same time as Mallikārjuna and became a profligate spending his time in drink and amidst women. His courtiers, nobles and generals having left their respective duties unattended to, lived in close vicinity of the young Sultan.³ The Bahmani Sultan did not combine his forces with those of the Gajapati but the later found an opportunity to lead his armies unopposed to the capital of Vijayanagara. The inscription in the temple of Siṃhāchalam⁴ dated 27th November, 1448 is the last that did not mention the titles other than 'Gaudeśvara' of Kapileśvaradeva. So the Navakoṭi tract and Kalabarga must have been subdued between April 1448 and November 1450. He subdued Biraghattam and Pratāpa Gaṅgaṛāju of Nandapur, and left an inscription on a stone in Chitrakōṭa, the ruins of which exist on a hill-slope to the west of the present town of Bobbili⁵. Then he proceeded southwards receiving the allegiance of Oddadi under whom he left Potnuru and Kaluvalapalli which he had wrested from the Reddis. He marched South capturing Peddapuram and Rajamandry, at which latter place he appointed one of his trusted generals as governor. Koṇḍaviḍu country was made secure under Gaṇadeva who in after years served as a bulwork against the invasions of the Bahminis. Then

प्रसह्य कर्नाटमहीपते : पुरीं निरुध्य विद्यानगरीं निजैर्बलैः ।

समुन्नतं मानमिवोन्नतं करं समाददे कर्कशचक्रविक्रमः ॥⁶

he violently besieged the town of Vijayanagara, the seat of the ruler of Karnāṭa; he of invulnerable valour received a very high tribute. This falsifies the statement of Gaṅgadāsapratāpavilāsam that Mallikārjuna sallied forth from his capital, like a lion from

1 App. B. Remarks.

2 Sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 65 f.

3 Burhani-Ma'asir., I. A. Vol LXXVII, p. 235 Ala-ud-din's accession 21st Feb. A. D. 1435.

4 App. A. No. 4.

5 M. E. R. 1833 App. B. No. 395.

6 Andhra Patrika, Annual 1928-29, Anantavaram Copper Plate Grant.

his den, and routed the armies of the beseigers after completely defeating them¹. The second part of the verse above quoted says that the Gajapati king sent Kumāra Hambīra to conquer the south and the latter washed his sword, which became smeared with the blood of the Southern rulers, in the Southern Ocean.

कुमारहंबीरविभुर्यदाज्ञया विजित्य कर्तान्तदिशं प्रतापवान् ।

अशोधयच्छत्रवशोष्णितोक्षितां कृपाणिकां दक्षिणसागराम्बुषु ॥

Kapileśvara must have been provoked to project this conquest of Karnāṭa by the visit of Mallikārjunadeva to Marutur² where his inscription dated A.D. 1435 is found. The conquest of Chandragiri or Kānchi rājya must have been after the date of this record. This is vouchsafed by the records found in Southern India.

Narasimhadevarāya propitiated the god at Tirumalai³ (Tirupati) in A.D. 1453 by giving Alipuram in Chandragiri-Rājya; and the gods of Kāverippākkam⁴ and Tirumalai⁵ were propitiated for the merit of Narasimhadevarāya. The Oddayan disturbances referred to in the inscriptions dated 1471⁴ A.D. pertain to the conquest of Chandragiri or Kānchi Rājya by Kumāra Hambīra Mahāpātra: It will not be out of place to say a little of this trusted general of the Gajapati King.

Hambīra Kumāra Mahāpātra was considered by some to be the son of Kapileśvara Deva. Others considered him to be another name of Purushottama Deva, the son and successor of Kapileśvara. An inscription at Simhāchalam (App. A. No. 15 and Manṇur in the S. Arcot Dist. (M.E.R. 1919 Nos. 51 and 52nd p. 106 para 47) furnish us with the information regarding this general. The former says that he was the son of Sundu Mahapatra of the Sūrya Vamśa and it is dated A.D. 1453. He instituted Viṇā music before the god. The latter records inform that his son, Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Mahāpātra, instituted the refection, 'Hambira-Bhoga' on 7th june 1464 A.D.

1 Sources of Vijayanagara History p. 65, S. K. Iyengar and R. D. Banerji assign this conquest of Vijayanagara to A. D. 1461-62. But the inscriptional evidence show that it had taken place in A. D. 1447.

2 M. E. R. 1915 No. 386. Saka 137 [6] Śrīmukha, Bhādrapada Su. 15 Sunday A. D. 1453 Aug. 19 Sunday. The Saka year must be 1375.

3 A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara App. No. 1.

4 and 5 M. E. R. 1915 Nos. 2 and 3.

6 Nos. 111 and 213 App. B. M. E. R. 1935.

* R. D. Banerji mistook from for Kapileśvara Gajapati with peculiar titles (His. of Orissa Vol. I.)

The very name of the 'bhoga' suggests that it was started in the name of Hambīra who died in A.D. 1464.

The conquests achieved were not temporary as was supposed by many. For, from the records discovered in the south, we learn that Hambīra's son, Dakṣiṇa Kapilesvara Mahapatra was appointed, after his father as the revenue officer (Parichha) of the whole country including Kondavidu Kondapalli, Addanki, Vinukoṇḍa Dandapada, Podaividu, Viḷudilampattu-usāvaḍi, Tīruvarur, Tiruchchilapalli (Trichinopoly) and Chandragiri. Thus the Gajapati dominion appears to have extended to the Kāverī in the South.

While Hambīra Kumāra Mahāpātra was engaged in reducing the Karnāṭa country, Kapilēśvara Gajapati in person went against and took Śrī Śailam¹ which is also known as The Mallikārjuna-Koṇḍa in A.D. 1450.

The Koṇḍavidu Copper plate grant² informs that Gaṇadeva was the viceroy of Telingāna and that he had earned the title of Rauta-rāya by defeating, with his own hands, two Turkish generals; 'Sanjar Khan, engaged himself with the Uriah leader of the infidels of Telingāna'³. Though the Mohammadan historian did not state how this Sānjār fared, the result may be inferred from what the Sultan said, 'why does Sanjar Khan match himself in battle against the possessors

1 J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII, 1893 part, Jagannadha Temple Right side inscription No. II M.M. Chakravarti read it, 'Mallika-parisadiga-kori' and translated it 'Having conquered the side of Mallika-parisa. But R. D Banerji in his history of Orissa, takes it to be the name of a Mussalman officer of the independent Sultan of Bengal. Kapilēśvara Gajapati was not such a vain-glorious general as to proclaim his victory over a petty Mussalman officer of a Mohammadan ruler. No one of his epigraphs justify such a low glory over which the Founder of a dynasty took pride. The epigraph intimates that Kapilendra while returning from the conquest of 'Malika-parasadiga encamped at Purushottama and made a gift to the god—Kapilesvara Gajapati was a great devotee of the god Purushottama because he believed that he became the king by 'Nīlaśailā-dhīnāḍha-ādeśāt (Gopināthapura Lns. Verse 4). So whenever he returned from an expedition with victory he did not go to his chief-seat without paying tribute to his god. So in this case, 'Malika-parisadiga' conquest must be a very glorious one and it must have been somewhere to the South of Purī, because he visited it first. No Mohammadan ruler is known by the name of Malik in the south. It must be the name of a strong fort—Kondavidu is called 'Jagannadha-prasada-gadh' in an inscription on a boulder (S.I.I. Vol. VI No. 654 A. D.) as a temple of Jagannadha was situated on that hill. Similarly, 'Mallika-parisada-ga [d]' must have been the correct reading; it then means the hill on which 'the temple of Mallika' was located. The temple of Mallika is the famous temple of Millikarjuna Svāmī situated on the Śrī Śailam. It was a strong hold under the Vijayanagara kings—Kapilendra Gajapati took it in A. D. 1450.

2 For the date *vide* App A. No. 12.

3 Burhan-i-Ma'asir.

of elephants ?¹ This Sanjar is one of the Turks defeated by the Rautaraya of Telingāna ; Who the other one was, there is no record to tell us.

When Kwajah Jahan went against Devara Konda in A.D. 1460² Gaṇadeva led an army and defeated him. Iswaradeva's inscription in the Warangal fort informs us that the fort had fallen into the hands of the Gajapatis sometime before A.D. 1460,³ the date of the epigraph. This Gaṇadeva Rautaraya Mahāpātra was the Viceroy of the South Telingāna, high lands and low lands with full powers to subdue and protect the country from the enemies. The Viceroy at Koṇḍaviḍu was a terror to the Sultans of Bahmini. Whenever an opportunity occurred either by the death of the Viceroy, who was known to Mussalmans as the 'Rāya of Telingāna, or by his transfer to a different place, the armies of the Deccan were ready to enter Telingāna.

A similar Viceroy was stationed at Rajamandry, and the name of that officer at the time of Kapileśvara Gajapati is Raghunādhadeva Narendra Mahāpātra.⁴ We have seen above that Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Mahāpātra was made the Porichha of the country between the river Gundal-Kamma and the Cauvery river, after the death of his father Hambīra Kumāra Mahāpātra. These Provincial officers, especially of Kondaviḍu had, under them not only a large army but also a number of elephants. In those days elephants were in great numbers in the forests of the Eastern Ghats and the rulers of Kaliṅga had an elephant-goad in their crest. The later rulers* of Orissa styled themselves as Gajapatis, which title was adopted by Kapileśvara Deva, the founder of the dynasty that succeeded the Eastern Gaṅgas on the throne. The Mohammadan rulers of Delhi, Jaunpur, Bengal and of the Deccan were, ever eager to buy or to receive as tribute, of elephants from the Gajapatis of Orissa. So it is no wonder if, at every gateway into their dominions, they had posted armies of elephants. "These Viceroys or Mahāpātras were expected to work for the welfare of the paramount sovereign, to keep themselves in virtuous ways and avoid bad ways.

1 Burhan-i-Ma'asir.

2 *Ibid.*

3 A stone record of this Gaṇadeva is noted in No. 70, App C. of 1917 M.E.R. Vide App. A for its date.

4 App. A. Nos 2 and 15.

* Vide the Ins. of Bhanu Deva IV App. C.

But if they acted badly towards their sovereign they were expelled from the kingdom and all their property was confiscated.¹

Kapilendra's conquest of the southern countries was not a passing raid as was supposed by Sewell in his *History of Vijayanagara* but it was a permanent settlement. "It establishes also that the earlier conquest by Gajapati was not a passing inroad only but almost an occupation of the southern country right up to Tiruvārur in the Tanjore district and Trichinopoly."² He, the Gajapati king made grants of land on Copper plates to Brahmins. One of such grants has recently been recorded in M.E.R. 1935 App. A. No. 17.

The sovereign visited these provinces receiving tribute from these lords, directing the military control, and advising civil administration. In one of such royal tours he died on Tuesday, 25th November A. D. 1466.³

M. M. Chakravarti, pronouncing the date given by the Mādala Panji, false as it did not come out correctly with the week day mentioned, calculated A.D. 1469-70 as the date of the death of Kapilendra. R.D. Banerji also accepted this for Firishta said, 'When the young king (Mahammad Shah Bāhmani II) was sixteen years old (in A. D. 1471) there arrived at his court Ambojana Rājā, a relative of the Rāya of Orissa, recently deceased.'⁴

'In this year the Queen-Mother Makhdūmah Jahān died and in 'A.H. 875 (A.D. 1470) the Sultan assumed the reins of government.

'In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingāna and informed the Sultan that the Rāya of Orissa, who was the 'principal rāya of Telingāna, was dead.'⁵

R.D. Banerji who entirely depended on the conclusions of M.M. Chakravarti for his statements in his *History of Orissa*, boldly asserted

1 J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII 1893 part I, Bhuvaneśvara Temple, Right side, No. 2.

2 M.E.R. 1919 part II p. 106, para 47.

3 App. A. No. 28.

4 Krishna Dist. Manual extracts from Briggs Ferishta Vol. II.

5 History of the Bhamini Dynasty (founded on the Burhan-i-Maasir) by Major J.S. King M.R.A.S. Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVIII—1899.

This work 'is based upon the Burhan-i-Maasir by Ali Bin 'Aziz-ullah Tabataba a work written several years before Ferishtah's appeared . . . yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable especially in the names and genealogy of some kings, where the difference occurs, the Bahmani Coins of the period which are the most reliable evidence corroborate the Statement of our author and negative that of Ferishtah (Preface).

that the last year of the reign of Kapilendra was correct as that date corresponded to the date of a death report made to the new Sultan of Bidar. Who was 'the Ray of Orissa, who was the principal Rāya of Telingāna' reported to have died in A.D. 1470? All scholars that have dealt with this question understood it to refer to Kapileṇdra. Banerji on p. 291 of Vol. I of his History of Orissa says, 'the leader of the Hindu chief of the highland of Telingāna or that part of the Telugu speaking country which lay above the Ghats, was an Oriya. Kapilēśvara is not mentioned by name ;' but he says, 'the statement in the Mussalman history about the number of elephants possessed by the Oriya chief proves that he was no ordinary chief but the Great Gajapati himself.' When Sanjar Khan went against Kondavidu, mention of a large number of elephants was made and that chief of Koṇḍavidu was identified with Gaṇadeva. Either before or subsequent to the death report, the Mussalmans were afraid of the number of elephants. It is already shown that the provincial governors, had each maintained an army of elephants. Ramānanda Raya, the Governor of Rajamandry during the time of Pratāpa Rudra Deva Gajapati, tells Chaitanya Svāmī when the latter asked him to follow him to Puri for the car-festival, "...a noisy throng of elephants, horses and soldiers surround me."

On the hypothesis of the possession of a large of elephants 'the Rāya of Orissa, the principal Rāya of Telingāna' cannot be identified with Kapilendra Gajapati of Orissa.

When M. M. Chakravarti questioned the correctness of the date given in the Mādala Panje, he forgot that, though the record might be incorrect in other matters, this particular record regarding the date of the death of Kapileśvara could not be refuted as false. For, every year Śrāddha' (propitiation to his manes,) must have been performed by this son Purushottama Deva. It was absolutely necessary to record the lunar month and tithi that the ceremony might be punctually performed. The year and the week day are not so necessary.—If the week day did not come correct for the year we presumed, the record of the Śrāddha

1 In Burhan-i-Ma'āsir in the places where the king of Orissa is meant the phrase 'Raya of Orissa' alone without any defining epithet such as the principal Raya of Telingana is used. Since here 'the Raya of Orissa' is particularised by 'the principal 'Raya of Telingana' it is meant for the Oriya Chief at Kondavidu.

2 Chaitanya Charitāmṛtam translated by Jadunath Sircar.

day should not be rejected. To disprove the incorrect theories adopted by the aforesaid historians, there is an almost contemporary record.

Jivadevāchārya who flourished during the reign of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati said, in the Prasasti given at the end of his Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya¹,

“(20) That king giving lands and wealth to the Brahmans and jewels to Jagannāth and after reigning for thirty-two years went to the proximity of Viṣṇu at Trivenī.”

This statement conforms the date of death worked out according to the data supplied by Mādala Panji; from A. D. 1435 to A. D. 1466 it is 31 years 5 months or roughly 32 years. This statement also affirms what is recorded in the Mādala Panji, that the king died on the banks of the Kriṣṇa-Veṇī river (Krishna) which was called Trivenī in the Prasasti—Consequently my interpretation of the inscription referred to in no. 28 of App. A, given in the last column is also corroborated. There remains the question who was that Rāya of Orissa the Principal Rāya of Telingāna whose death was so noisely reported at the Court of Bidar was? It has already been shown in the previous pages that in A. D. 1464 Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumāra. Mahāpātra was in charge of the whole country south of the Kriṣṇa. Gaṇadeva might have died after A. D. 1464 and this Dekṣiṇa Kapileśvara might have been given Koṇḍavidu also into his charge. It must be this Kapileśvara, the Rāya of Telingāna that died in A. D. 1470.

Kapileśvara Deva Gajapati is said to have had many wives and many sons. “On the death of Kapileśvara Deva, his sons fought with one another for the throne.” So writes M. M. Chakrvarti but he does not quote the authority from which he took this information.

But Jivadevāchārya speaks of Purushottama Deva Gajapati as the only son.

Sarasvatī-vilāsam by Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra Deva gives more details :—

सा पार्वती नाम यथार्थनाम्नी
याऽत्राप सापत्न्यमिनारमाभ्याम् ।
करं गृहीत्वा कपिलेश्वरस्य
सा गामसापत्न्यवतीमतानीत् ॥

¹ Translation given by M.M. H. P. Sastri given on p. 15 of his Report of Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1901-1902 to 1905-1906).

Pārvati was his wife who shared the royalty with him.

सा पार्वती सकलगण्यगुणातिरेकं

भूपालमौलिमणिराञ्जनादपीठम् ।

तस्मादसूत पुरुषोत्तमनामधेयं

विस्मारितारिधरणीश्वरभागधेयम् ॥

That Pārvati begot a son named Purushottama of excellent qualities—

Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva was a man of great prowess and valour. He had the capacity to pick up the best generals like Gopīnātha Mahāpatro, Gaṇadeva, Hambīra Kumāra Mahāpatra and they were all faithful and dutiful to their sovereign. He entertained Brahmans and propitiated the gods of his country especially Purushottama of Puri. Whenever he went South he brought the best ornaments to his god. Even on his death-bed he despatched through Mahapātras, jewels to the god Jagannātha. He never associated himself with Bengal and North Indian arts and customs; his conquests and achievements in the south and hoarding Orissa with the articles made in the south clearly prove what great appreciation he had for the South Indian civilisation. Kapileśvaradeva was so staunch an Oriya that he had all his inscriptions written in his mother tongue. There are found only two of his inscriptions written in Telugu in the Southern country. He trusted that he was sent by God to fight the Mohammadans. He deserves, for the great glory he brought to his country, that an era should be started at the time of his coronation to commemorate the event as long as Orissa and Oriyas last. It is a pity to find even the *vaidekis* do not reckon the Kapilendra Śaka.

APPENDIX A.

Dates of Gajapati Kapilēśvara *alias* Kapilendra Deva A.D. 1435-6 to 1466-7.

Reference	अंका Date as given in the Record	Equivalent in X'ian era.	Remarks.
J.A.S.B. Vol. XIX No. 2, 1900, p. 181, foot note (Mādala Panji).	2 Kakara 2 su 4 Wednesday	A. D. 1435 June 29 Wed.	Kapilēśvara's Coronation day. According to the Oriya Panji in A.D. 1944 509 years of Kapilēśvara Śaka have expired. Then in A.D. 1435 the era must have been started.
..	3 ..	A. D. 1435-36.	Not found in any record.
J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893 No. 2 Jagannatha Temple Left No. 3	4 Samasta 4 anka, Srahi Dhanu amāvāsyā, Saurivāre.	A.D. 1436, Dec. 8, Saturday	This is No. 1 of M.M. Chakravarti's list of dates (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX 1900 No. 2). He mistook Sunday for Sauri-vāra which means Saturday. Narendra Mahāpatra is mentioned.
Ibid. Bhuvaneśvar No. 2	4 Samasta 4 anka Srahi Mithuna Kr. 9 Mangalavāre.	A. D. 1437 May 28, Tuesday	M. M. Chakravarti read the tithi as 9 (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII, 1893, No. 2), but for calculation he took it as tithi 1 (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX No. 2, 1900, p. 100).
S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 1089	18 Samasta 18, Bicchi Su 3, Budhavāre bānarāsyarke	A.D. 1448 No. 827, Wednesday	The sun entered Sagittarius (bānarāsi) at 98 after mean sunrise.
J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII, 1893 No. 2 Jagannatha Temple Rt. No. 3.	19 Samasta 19 anka, Mesha, amāvāsyā Ravivāre	A. D. 1450 April 12, Sunday	Mallikā-parisad-ga [d] was subdued.
S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 1655	22 Samasta 22 Simha sukla 3 Somavāre	A. D. 1453 July 9, Monday	

Reference.	Anta.	Date as given in the Record.	Equivalent in X'ian era.	Remarks.
S. l. l. Vol. V, No. 1198	23	Saka 1373 Māgha 5 gurvāre Kumbhast- bhaskari, Prajāpati.	A.D. 1455 Feb. 7, Thursday	<p>The weekday ought to have been Saumya-vāre.</p> <p>The editor of this charter understood, 'Vidhor-graha-dīnē' meant 'lunar eclipse, but found that there happened no eclipse of the moon on 15 Bhādrapada of Saka 1377. Similarly 'Sūrya-grabe' of the Bāgumrā plates (I.A. Vol. XVII) was misunderstood for an eclipse of the Sun but found that no such eclipse had occurred on that date. The date given in the Charter cannot be considered to be faulty as the Saka and Jovian years correspond. Since the charter intimates that a gift of land was made to a number of Brahmanas, the date on which the gift was made on a day, very auspicious. Since it was made in the month</p>
S. l. l. Vol. V, No. 1006	24	Samasta 24 Srahi Mina, Sukla 13 Somavāre.	A.D. 1454 Mar. 11, Monday	
S. l. l. Vol. IV, No. 988	24	Vijayarāja Samvatsara 24	A. D. 1453-54 ..	
MER. 1917, App. B.No. 70	24	Saka 1376 [Bhāva] vaiśākha Su. 15, Thurs- day.	A. D. 1454 April 12, Friday.	
S. l. l. Vol. VI, No. 1152	25	Samasta 25 srāhi Tulu Su. 10 Somavāre.	A.D. 1454 Oct 2, Wednesday	
Kondavīdu C. P. of Gāṇadeva, I.A. Vol. XX, p. 390 f.	25	Saka 1377 Yuva, Bhādra- pada vidhor-graha-dīnē.	A.D. 1455 Aug. 25 Monday	

Reference.	Anka.	Date as given in the Record.	Equivalent in X'ian era.	Remarks.
S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 1194	25	Samasta 25 srāhi Bhadrāpada Su 3 Śrāvan's, Saka 1377	A.D. 1455 Aug. 16 Saturday	<p>of Bhādrapada and also because the donor was an Oriya chief, the day might have been one from which the anka is changed. Siṃha, Bhādrapada Su, 12 is called 'Suniya' which is Oriya for 'of gold' (from Skt. Suvarṇa-gold). The day is called so, because the Oriya Chiefs make grants of land and stamp the gift-deed with gold seal. On calculation it is found that in Saka 1377, the Siṃha, Bhādrapada 12 fell on A. D. 1455 Aug. 25 and it was Monday (v dhu-moon; graha-planet So Vidhōr-graha-dine-the day of the planet Moon). Similarly Surya-dine means Sunday. This is peculiar to Orissa, as so many other customs are. Samasta Anka system of reckoning is another. Orissa developed a civilization of its own</p> <p>No 7 on p. 181, J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX, No. 2, 1900. Anka did not change. For it was only Sukla 3 of Bhādrapada.</p> <p>Raghunadhadeva Narendra Mahāpātra was the Viceroy at Rajamandvy.</p> <p>I take 'Vaiśākhi' to mean Vaiśākha Purnami and it was also the first day of Vṛshabha.</p>
S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 1151	28	Samasta 28. Kr. 9 ..	A. I. 1456-57	
S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 1000	29	Bahudhanya Samvatsara Jyeshtha ba 13 [50].	A. L. 1458 May 11 Saturday (āmānta).	
M.E.R. 1935 App. A.No.17	29	Bahudhanya, Vaiśākhi of Saka 1380	A.D. 1458 Ap. 27, Thursday	

Reference.	अ. सं.	Date as given in the Record.	Equivalent in Xian era.	Remarks.
S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 1008	31	Sakavarushambulu 1381 agunēnti Mithuna Su. 10 Adivāram	A. D. 1459 June 10, Sunday	Hambira Kumāra Mahāpatro, son of Sundu Deva Mahāpatro of the Surya Vamśa.
S. . I. Vol. V No. 1165	32	Sakavarushambulu 1382, Vijayarāja Samvat- sarambulu 32 Srāhi Vikrama Samvatsara Jyēshtha Ba. 750.	A. D. 1460 June 9. Monday (āmāntā)	
S. I. I. Vol. VII, No. 733	32	Pramādi Semvatsara Māgha Su. [3] va.	A. D. 1460 Jan. 26, Tuesday	The donor was Isvara Deva, son of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva.
S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 793	32	Samasta 32, Makara Su 10 Thursday	A. D. 1460 Jan. 3, Thursday	
S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 1158	33	Samasta 33 srāhi Kakadā Saṅkrānti Monday	A. D. 1461 July 1, Monday	Kakada is Karkāṭaka, and is wrong. Cf the next, the date is calculated to 2nd day of the Solar month of Cancer.
S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 1157	33	Samasta 33, srāhi Kakada Su. 10, Thursday	A. D. 1461 July 18, Thursday	
S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 1150	33	Samasta 33, Mithuna Su. II, Sunday	A. D. 1461 June 20, Sunday	The Weekday does not come correct.
J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII, 1893 No. 5	35	Aṅka 35 Mesha 4 Wed.	A. D. 1463 Apr. 6, Wednesday	
M. E. R. 1919 App. B. No. 5192.	37	Saka 1386, Tarana, Mithuna Su. Tritiyā, Thursday	A. D. 1464 June 7, Thursday	Dakshina Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, son of Hambira Kumāra Mahāpātra was the Paricchā of the country south of the Krishna No. 2 is taken for Mithuna 2 but Suddha 8 does not tally; the week day is right.

No.	Reference.	Apk.	Date as given in the Record.	Equivalent in Xian era.	Remarks.
26	S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 1153	38	Samasta 38, Srāhi [No. 2 Suddha] 8 Wednesday	A. D. 1466 May 30, Wed.	
27	S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 761		Saka 1387	A. D. 1465-66.	..
28	J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX 1900, 41 p. 181 footnote	41	Pushya Kr. 3, Tuesday	A. D. 1466 No. 25 Tuesday	Kapileśvara died after a reign of 32 years (jivadēvachārya) on the banks of the Krishnavēpl or Trivēpl.
29	J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII, 1893	41	41st Añka Dhanu Su, 7, Sunday	A. D. 1466 Dec. 14, Sunday.	The king died on 25 November and this record is dated 14 December of the same year. The inscription says that several articles were brought by five Mahāpātras under the command of a sixth and placed them before the God according to the oath (Premāne lāgi). There was an interval of 19 days between king's death and the arrival of these Mahāpātras at Puri. After the funerals were over, they might have started for Puri to fulfil their oath to the dying king. Premāne lāgi is wrongly translated by M. M. Chakravatti. R. D. Banerji misunderstood the whole as he had done with so many others.

APPENDIX B.
Last dates of Devarāya II and First years of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara.

No.	Reference	Place of the Record.	King. Date of the record	Corresponding X'ian date	Remarks.
1	No. 68 of 1929 M.E.R.	Vrdhāchalam	Devarāya II, S. 1367 Krodhana Mina Sude Thursday	A. D. 1446 Mar. 9, Thur.	In all cases the Śaka years are irregular. The dates correctly verify for Jovian years.
2	No. 476 of 1921 Do.	Tiruvainattor	Do. S. 1369 Akshaya, Tula Su. Friday, Dwādasi	A.D. 1446 Sept. 30, Fri.	The last date of Devarāya II is A. D. 1446 Sep. 30 and
3	No. 110 of 1927 Do.	Murugumangalam	Do. S. 1367 Akshaya	S. year=A.D. 1445.	The earliest date of Mallikārjuna is A. D. 1447 Ap. 20.
4	No. 553 of 1929-30 Do.	Uppunda	Do. S. 1369 Kohaya, Vaiśakha Su. 5 Sunday	Jovian=A. D. 1446	Devarāya II must have died some time between A. D. 1446 Sep. 30 and A. D. 1447 Ap. 20 and Mallikārjuna must have ascended the throne immediately.
5	No. 102 of 1923.	Pillapaliam	Mallikārjuna, Prabhava, Chaitrai	A.D. 1447 Mar Apr.	At the time when sufficient no. of inscriptions were not brought to light, the Scholars that worked out the History of Vijayanagara thought Devarāya's last year was A.D. 1446 and A.D. 1449, the first year of Mallikārjunadev Dr. Hultzsch thought that there was a Devarāya III reigning from A.D. 1446 to 49 and Sewell accepted it with some doubt. Dr. S. K. Iyengar said that it remained to be proved but R. D. Banerji peremptorily accepted A. D. 1445 to have been the first year of Mallikārjuna. Devarāya.
6	No. 435 of 1922	N. Arcot	Do. S. 1368 Prabhava Vaigai 5	A. D. 1447 Apr. 20	

APPENDIX C Dates of Bhānu Deva IV, the last Eastern Ganga King of Orissa together the last dates of Narasimhadeva IV Do.

No.	Reference.	Name of the king and place	Date given in the Record	Corresponding X'ian dates.	Remarks.
1	S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1180	Narasimhadeva IV Sukurmam.	Vira Sri Narasimhadeva ankara Vijayarāja Samvatserambulu 1324 agunēnti Pusya sukla Faurname Chandra- vāram.	A.D. 1403 Jun 8 Monday.	No. 3 helped to convert the regnal year 33 given in No. 2 into Saka year. Anka 33 comes to 27 years in regular reckoning. M.M. Chakravarti did not get these inscriptions. With the meagre material he laid the way to the building up of the true history of Orissa. Narasimhadeva IV's 27th year was A. D. 1404-1405 His first year.
2	S.I.I. Vol. V No. 1244	Do.	Virasri Narasimhadevara Vijarayya Sa (m) satsara 33 srahi Chaitra suddha Purnami Revivāre.	A.D. 1405 Mar 15, Sunday.	
3	S.I.I. Vol. VI No. 1016	Do. Simhachalam	S'akavarushambulu 1324 gunēnti Vīradhi vira Sri Narasimhadevasya pravardhamāna vijaya- rajya Samvatara 31 Srahi kanya [śu] 10 mi Guruvāram.	A.D. 1402 Sept 7 Thursday kanya month begun on 20 Aug.	S. S. 1300-1 found out by M. M. Ch. is correct. His last year is A. D. 1404-1405. Since his last date is A.D. 1405 Mar 15 and since no inscription of his time is found after that date we may consider that his reign ended a few months after March A. D. 1405 Then Bhānu Deva IV came to the throne.
1	S.I.I. Vol. VI No. 1113	Bhānu Deva IV Simhachalam	Saka Varushambulu 1336 gunēnti chaitra su [ddha] saptami Somavāram.	A.D. 1414 Mar 28 Wednesday	The week-day named in the Sanskrit portion is correct.

No.	Reference	Name of the King and Place	Date given in the Record	Corresponding X'ian dates	Remarks
			(In the beginning) Sakabde Sat-rāma-tri- Sasi-parimite Chaitra Sukle-cha tithiyām saptamya [११] [So] myavārē		This epigraph informs that Kamalādevi was the mother of Bhānu Deva IV.
2	S.I.I. Vol. VI No. 731	Pārvati Mahādevi, the daughter of Vijjula Jesya- nungaru, the wife of Gajapati Pai tapā Virana- rasumha Deva Mahārāja.	Saka varushambulu 1328 mārgasira suddha vidiya Sukravāram.	A.D. 1406 No. V 12 Friday.	This must have been the year by which Narasimhadeva IV had died. The donor names her mother as the wife of Narasimhadeva.
3	Ibid No. 1115	Bhānudeva IV Simhashalam	Sakavarushambulu 1336 gunēnti cha-i-tra Suddha Saptami somavāram.	A. D. 1415 March 17, Sunday.	The week day did not agree.
4	Ibid No. 707	Do.	Saka varusambulu 1338 gunēnti Phālgūṇa kṛṣṇāgurvārānanu.	A.D. 1416 Feb 4, Thursday.	
5	Ibid No. 1040	Do	Saka 19395 agunēnti kārtika Su 5 guruvaram.	A.D. 1417 Oct 15, Thursday.	
6	Ibid No. 1069	Do.	Saka Varusambulu 1344 gunēnti Pusya suddha Pañchami sukravāramu.	A.D. 1422 Dec 19, Friday.	
7	Ibid No. 808	Do.	Saka Varusambulu 1349 gunēnti Jeṣṭha ba-u-ṭa pratipad Maṅgalavārā- nanu.	A.D. 1427 May 12, Tuesday.	

No.	Reference.	Name of the King and Place	Date given in the Record	Corresponding X'ian dates	Remarks.
8	Ibid No. 1082	Repeat.	Saka Varusambulu 1349 gunēnti Pusya suddha Purnami 15 gurvārā- nanu.	A.D. 1428 Jan. 2, Thursday.	The week day does not come correct. Perhaps the fig. 3 expressing the tithi ought to have been 5 then the week day will be correct. We cannot rely more on the fig. than on the words.
9	Ibid No. 784	Do.	Saka Varusambulu 1352 gunēnti Asvija sukla 3 Sukravārānanu.	A.D. 1430 Sept. 20, Wednesday	

The last year of Bhānudeva IV was the first year of Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva *i.e.* A. D. 1435 ; for Jivadēvachārya recorded in his Prasasti that Kapilendra became the ruler after the death of Bhānudeva IV, So Bhānudeva was the king from Cir A. D. 1405—1435. The raids of Firoz Shah of Delhi (A. H. 815) of Hushang of Malwa (A.H. 825) noted under Narasim hadēva's reign belong to the period of Bhānudeva IV, for A.H. 815--A.D. 1412 and A.H. 825--A.D. 1421.

(I. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1905, p. 139).

Reviews and Notices of Books

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS,
By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU,
Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and
Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur, Member Historical Records
Commission, 1943. Published under orders of the Jodhpur Darbar.
First Edition. Price Rs. 3-4.

The present work, as its title indicates, is professedly a history of the "Glories of Marwar and of the Glorious Rathors." Twenty-two centuries from the time of Aśoka to the present day have been covered in 64 pages (I—LXIV). This historical narrative seems to be an introduction to the study of the forty documents relating to the different periods of the history of Marwar which have been collected in 4 Appendices, which cover the bulk (240 pages) of the book. The last document in Appendix D seems irrelevant to the present history. Attribution of personal rancour, *e. g.* to Dr. Majumdar (P. 53) is also unhappy in a scholarly work of this kind. One may reasonably differ from the author's interpretation of the word 'Turashkadanda' as a tax similar to Jazia on the Mohamedans (p. ix) as well as from his account of the role of Jaswant Singh in the War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons.

On the whole, the book contains a mass of information regarding Marwar and its rulers. It contains certain valuable articles "published in various Research Journals or read at the various conferences held from time to time at different places", and "some of these articles have been appreciated", as the author tells us in his preface, by "eminent scholars like Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar". The get-up of the book is good. Two indices increase its value.

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar,

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held in the Society's Office on Sunday, the 5th August, 1945.

Present :

1. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir S. Fazl Ali, Kt., (in the Chair).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
4. Dr. K. K. Datta.
5. Dr. T. P. Chowdhry.
6. Mr. Sham Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 18-2-1945.

2. (a) Passed the monthly statement of accounts from February to June 1945.

(b) Passed the Revised Budget for 1945-46 and the budget estimate for 1946-47.

3. Confirmed payments of the following:—

			Rs.	as.	p.
(a)	Patna Law Press Bill No. 359/44 printing charges of June Journal 1944.	.. ..	424	1	6
(b)	Patna Law Press Bill No. 360/44 .. ,, Index 1944. .. Printing Charges of..		21	12	3
(c)	Patna Law Press Bill No. 65/45 printing charges of Sept-Dec. Journal 1944.	.. ..	286	13	0
(d)	Patna Law Press Bill No. 66/45 printing charges of Annual Meeting papers.	.. ..	63	5	6
(e)	International Academy of Indian Culture for books purchased .. ..	.. ..	187	3	0
(f)	Mesars. Luzac & Co's Bill dated 19-2-45 for books purchased. .. ..	.. ..	61	2	3
(g)	Royal India Society, London, for "Indian Arts and Letters" 1943/1944.	.. ..	28	2	3

	Rs.	As.	P.
(h) Cost of Paper purchased from Messrs. Kundu Brothers.	273	9	11
(i) Electrical Charges—May, 1945	7	4	0
(j) „ „ June, 1945	6	3	9
(k) Visvesvaranand Research Institute for books purchased	15	14	0
(l) Messrs. Meharchand Lachhman Das, Lahore, for books purchased.	28	0	0
(m) International Academy of Indian Culture for books purchased.	24	6	6

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—

- (a) Professor Dharmendranath Sastri, Meerut College, Meerut.
- (b) Muni Maharaj Ratnaprabha Vijayaji, Ahamadabad.
- (c) P. Krishna Bihari Upadhya, M. A., Manager, Dehri-Rohtas Railway.
- (d) B. Bindesvari Prasad Sinha, M. A., Professor, Patna College.

5. Read Dr. S. C. Sarkar's letter, dated 8-5-1945.

Resolved that the Society's Office and Library be opened from 7-30 a. m. to 12-30 p. m. in summer and 8-30 a. m. to 1-30 p. m. in winter.

6. Considered the application of the two peons of the Society for increase of their living allowance.

Resolved that Re. 1—per month be given to each of the two peons as living allowance from August to the end of the year in addition to the living allowance allowed to them at present.

7. Resolved that the following be placed on our exchange list from 1945.

- (a) Journal of the Travancore University Manuscripts Library.
- (b) Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery.

8. Resolved that a letter be written to Allahabad Law Journal Press asking them to send their terms etc. for printing our Journal.

S. BAHADUR

Honorary General Seceretary

6-8-45.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 16th September, 1945.
Present.

1. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir S. Fazl Ali, Kt., (in the Chair).
 2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha
 3. Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.
 4. Dr. S. C. Sarkar.
 5. Dr. K. K. Datta.
 6. Dr. Tarapada Chowdhuri.
 7. Khan Sahib S. H. Askari.
 8. Mr. Sham Bahadur.
1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of Council held on 5-8-1945.
 2. Passed the monthly statement of accounts for the month of July, 1945.
 3. Elected the following persons as ordinary members of the Society :—
 - (a) Babu Avadh Bihari Prasad, Banker and Zemindar, Banglagarh, Darbhanga.
 - (b) Mrs. Vidyavati Gupta, M. A., Girls' High School, Patna.
 - (c) Mr. S. Patnaik, Deputy Magistrate, Cuttack.
 3. Read Mr. Godbole's letter, dated August 8, 1945.
 - (a) Resolved that a letter be sent to Bombay whether the University will guarantee the return of our negatives. The Society is prepared to let the University have the negatives for taking their copy. The University should either send some one to take delivery of one lot of the negatives at a time or if that be not possible be ready to pay the expenses incurred in sending them by insured post.
 - (b) Resolved that Dr. S. C. Sarkar be entrusted with the work of corresponding with Shantiniketan or Darjeeling Monastery to find out a Tibetan to come here, mark and prepare a note on these valuable manuscripts.

(c) Resolved that a letter be addressed to the Advisor to H. E. the Governor of Bihar requesting him to move Government to make a special Grant to the Society to enable it to employ a Tibetan Scholar who may be able to mark, find out and translate etc. valuable Tibetan Manuscripts in possession of the Research Society or the enlarged photographs of valuable manuscripts for which Government granted Rs. 10,000 will fade away after some time and be lost. Government used to make a grant of Rs. 1,500 per annum to the Society till 1944-45 for cataloguing of Sanskrit Manuscript in Bihar.

(d) Resolved that Dr. K. K. Datta be entrusted with the work of writing to the Director of Archives, Government of India, New Delhi for his kind instruction, regarding the proper preservation of old documents, manuscripts and books, etc.

21-9-45.

S. BAHADUR
Honorary General Secretary.

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

Annual Account 1944-45.

I N C O M E.

Heads.

Actuals,

Revised
Budget.

Heads.

E X P E N D I T U R E.

Actuals

Revised
Budget

Government grant :—

Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
..	1 000	0 0	1,000	0	0	..	719	10 6	1109	8 3	
..	1,000	0 0	1,000	0	0	..	1672	15 0	1544	0 0	
..	1,200	0 0	1,200	0	0	..	1381	4 0	1275	0 0	
..	1,600	0 0	1,600	0	0	..	2154	4 9	3500	0 0	
..	27	5 0	..			..	175	1 6	400	0 0	
..	1,332	10 0	900	0	0	..	36	9 0	150	0 0	
..	1,717	14 0	562	3 0		..	70	10 9	100	0 0	
..	61	1 0				..	299	4 6	350	0 0	
..	84	12 4				..			1000	0 0	
..	39	10 0				..					
..	13	8 0				..					

Opening Balance :—

..			..			..			3397	12 11	
..	193	0 6	193	0 6		..	232	10 6			
..	397	10 3	397	10 3		..	411	2 3			
..	210	14 9½	210	14 9½		..	210	14 9½			
..	503	9 9	503	9 9		..	503	9 9			
..	5,260	15 10½	5,260	15 10½		..	6774	14 2½			

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OF THE
BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY**

for the year 1945

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1945

[PART IV

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE MADRAS JUDICIARY, PART IV.

By RAO BAHADUR PROFESSOR C. S. SRINIVAS CHARI,

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

From the Charter of 1753 to the Establishment of the Recorder's Court.

I.

The Charter of George II constituted the Mayor and Aldermen to form a Court of Record for the trial of civil suits, not being between natives, arising at Madras or at subordinate Factories. This Court was empowered to imprison for debt, to frame rules of procedure, subject to alteration by the Directors and to grant probate of wills and letters of administration. The Company was liable to be sued in this Court; and an Accountant-General might be appointed by the Company to execute the Court's orders regarding the monies of suitors; and appeals were to lie from the Mayor's Court to the President and Council, whose decision in causes of value up to pagodas 1,000 was to be final. In judgments for larger sums, an appeal could be preferred to the King-in-Council; and judgment after appeal was to be executed by the Mayor's Court.

Suits for small sums not exceeding five pagodas were to be tried and decided summarily by a Court of Requests for which Commissioners ranging from eight to twenty-four in number were to be

appointed annually by Government and of whom half were to retire annually and the remainder were to co-opt to the vacancies.

The President and Members of Council were to be Justices of the Peace for Madras and the Subordinate Factories; they were to hold Quarter Session and to be a Court of Record, and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for dealing with all offences except high treason. The mode of trial was to follow English practice as far as might be possible; and the Sheriff was to summon persons to attend as Grand and Petit Juries who were to take oaths, if Christians or solemn affirmation, if Natives of India. Witnesses were similarly sworn.

The Generals and other military officers appointed by the Company might exercise Martial Law in times of war.* It may be interesting to know the names of the first incumbents of the various offices under the reorganised Judiciary. Thus John Browning was appointed Sheriff; Claud Russell, one of the 'Four Gentlemen from Madras' invited by Clive to Bengal in 1765, was Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court; Josias Du Pre who was later on Governor of Madras (1770-1773), was Clerk of the Peace and Coroner for the Town of Madraspatnam and also the Company's Solicitor and Clerk of the Court of Appeal; among the eight Commissioners for the Court of Requests were Hugh Norris, Henry Van Sittart, later Governor of Bengal, James Bouchier and others.

The insignia of the old Mayor's Court were reported to have been lost during the French occupation, though part of them were in reality preserved by the French, discovered later and sold; and new emblems were ordered from Bombay.

The Mayor's Court and the Court of Requests were made subject to control on the part of the Court of Directors, who were authorised by the Letters Patent to make 'bye-laws, rules and ordinances for the good government and regulation of the several Court of Judicature established in India. Cowell stresses that the chief alteration effected by the new Letters Patent was that the Courts which they established were limited in their civil jurisdiction to suits between persons who

were not Natives of the several towns to which the jurisdiction applied; and suits between Natives were directed not to be entertained by the Mayor's Courts unless by the consent of the parties. Also in the Charter of 1753 according to Cowell, civil suits between Natives were expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Courts and directed to be determined among themselves, although there was no precedent for this in the Charter of 1726; and this would appear to involve a renunciation of sovereign authority at that time over Natives. (*Tagore Law-Lectures* 1872—pp. 19-21).

We learn from the consultations of 15th January 1755 that the Mayor's Court resolved to revive a rule of practice of the 5th June 1733 and to deal summarily with petty causes involving values ranging between 20 and 5 pagodas. It is learnt from a letter of Mr. Daniel Morse, Registrar of the Mayor's Court, addressed to Government under date, 6th June 1757, that there had been revenues enjoyed by its predecessors, which were given up in 1743 on condition that the Company should bear the expenses of the keeping up of the Court. The letter thus says: "Almost all the Cash Books of the former Courts from the Year 1688 to the month of July 1746 are preserved, and by these it appears that the Mayor's Court, which was established by the Company's Charter in 1687, had Grants of Revenues and Fines, etc., which produced Funds for building a Town Hall, Bridges and other public works, and left some Stock to the Corporation. And the some of these Revenues were lessen'd (by means not particularly known at this distance of time) before the Charter granted in 1727 came out, yet such Revenues as continued from the old corporation to that which was then established seems for some years to have exceeded the current expenses of the Court".*

Government had to reject the request of the Mayor's Court for a new gaol and to point out that the Corporation having been dissolved by the capture of Madras in 1746, their property in the Town Hall passed on to the Company on the restoration of the place; and they also reminded the Court that the Corporation had resigned the revenues to the Company, on the latter becoming responsible for expenses.

*The letter proceeds that the Court gave up in 1743 to the President and Council their rents and revenues for the Banksall, Sea Gate and Weighing Duty etc., on the above noted condition.

Naturally the Court contested this view as to the property rights over Town Hall ; and the dispute was referred to the Directors, who, as usual, agreed with the Council and accused the Court of an attempt to make an ill-founded claim. The Directors added that the Court had long been, in their opinion, forming a plan to make itself independent of them, and insisted that the Corporation should pass a formal declaration under their seal that the Town Hall was the property of the Company. (Proceedings from England, dated 27th January 1762). The Company's Standing Counsel to whom the matter was referred, declared that the present Mayor's Court could have no rights antecedent to its own creation, and even the regalia, which had been saved when Madras fell into French hands in 1746 was the property of the Company, not to speak of the Court house and the legacy bequeathed to the court by W. Jennings. In 1770 Government drew the attention of the authorities to the great grievance which the Indian inhabitants of the settlement were labouring under, on account of the lack of "some law or means whereby their differences in matters of property may be determined—the Charter excludes them from the Mayor's Court unless both parties shall voluntarily submit their Disputes to its decision, very few instances of which (if any) have occurred" (Consultations of 2nd March 1770). The Board of Police constituted in 1770, resolved to establish a court for determining disputes dependent on the customs of the natives.

The subsequent letters sent to England, of the 6th of April 1770 and 25th March 1771, also dealt with the necessity of establishing regular Courts of Justice for the decision of civil suits of property among the Native Indians and detailed the inconveniences arising from a lack of such courts. In answer to the two letters of 1770, the Directors observed, in their Despatch of 30th November 1770, that the Board of Police which was suggested as a remedy was repugnant to the Charter and should not be continued. They said that the Commissioners whom they had despatch to India, had orders to which they would invite the attention of the Madras Presidency. (The Commissioners, Vansittart, Teraftori and Horde in 1769) who were sent over to the Presidency of Bengal were lost at sea.

II.

It is well that Mr. Benjamin Sullivan should be quoted at some length here. He had been appointed Standing Counsel or Government Advocate at Madras in 1778 and subsequently promoted to be Attorney-General in 1781. Sullivan himself and Stephen Popham who was an Attorney of the Mayor's Court and the Company's Solicitor had left notes which are helpful for the understanding of the development of the machinery of judicial administration in Madras. The opinion of Sullivan, as Attorney-General, embodied in Public Consultations of 12th July 1783, contains the following accounts of the history of the administration of justice in the Presidency. This account though not quite accurate in every particular, is very interesting, and parts of it are given below. In the course of his note, Sullivan points out that as no Native could sue another in the Mayor's Court except by mutual consent, most cases had been settled by arbitration; and the parties usually executed bonds to abide by the awards given. But in cases of challenge of these awards, since they were not legally binding they could not be enforced. And Sullivan suggested that each of the two native disputants in a cause should enter into bonds, not with each other, but with a European so that in case of any breach an action in the Mayor's Court would lie. He also put forward, as a permanent measure of remedy, a proposal to apply to the Court of Delhi for the grant of zamindari rights which would include civil and criminal jurisdictions.*

Sullivan wrote :—It did not occur to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that there was no Court of Zemindary or Cutcheree established at that time in this Settlement, or at any time before, from the first purchase of the small territory about Madras from the Kings of Visapour. The old Company, which possessed very extensive powers by Charter, and amongst the rest that of establishing such Courts of Justice as they might think proper, invested the Governor and Council with the Criminal Jurisdiction, and erected a Mayor's Court consisting of the heads of Casts for the determination of disputed property among

*Sullivan was of the opinion that no country courts could properly be established without a previous grant of zamindari rights and even the old Choultry Court was repugnant to the Charter.

all kinds of people whether Europeans or Indians. When the English Company was established by King William, a new Court, consisting of one person learned in the law and two Merchants, was appointed to hear all causes whatsoever, whether Civil or Criminal; and when the two Companies were united, both Courts subsisted, a writ of error lying from the Mayor's Court to the other, which was called the Court of Admiralty. These Courts continued to execute the powers they were invested with over all the inhabitants until the Charter of George the 1st constituting a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and a new Mayor's Court from which the heads of casts were excluded. Both these Courts had likewise Authority between party and party of whatever denomination; but the native inhabitants being by this deprived of the satisfaction of having their differences determined by the heads of their casts, became discontented and troublesome to Government; in consequence of which, by the Charter of George 2nd, they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court unless both Parties should consent to abide by its determination. No provision was however made for the determination of controversies amongst themselves, probably from an Idea that there subsisted Country Courts Competent to that purpose; but I have not been able to learn that any Gentoo Court was established here after the period of the Company's purchase, and the Courts of Zemindary and Cutchery, which are mentioned in the instructions to the Commissioners, are Mohammedan Courts, which could not have been introduced till after the Mohammedan Conquest of the Carnatic, an event that did not take place for a considerable time after the settlement was formed; neither did it in its consequences affected the establishments of the Company, and therefore could not be introductive of these Courts at Madras....., 'The Phirmaunds for the possessions on the coast, being grants in Inaum, which, upon enquiry, I find is nothing more than a free gift of the Government share of the produce of certain district (s), and does not convey Zemindary rights, vest to authority, by the laws of the Empire, in the Company to institute either a Court of Zemindaree or Cutcheree.. ..

“As on a former occasion I had the honor of informing the Right Hon'ble President that I thought the Choultry Court, which was abolished in 1774, was repugnant to the Charter and could not be

revived, and having now endeavored to shew that no Country Courts can properly be established without a previous grants of Zemindary rights, I shall now proceed to the consideration of such a temporary mode of administering Justice in cases of property among the native inhabitants as appears to me likely to relieve them, at least in some degree, from the hardships they at present labour under, and to screen the Magistrate from embarrassment.....' (embodied in P. C. of 12th July 1783).

The Choultry Court was suspended in 1774, but though its judicial business was stopped, it continued for registration purposes and the court itself was not finally abolished until March 1800.

Mr. Stephen Popham is a well-known figure who contributed much to the history of Madras. He designed the *Plan of Police* in 1782 and submitted a scheme for the establishment of a regular police for Madras and for the regulation of the city, in which were comprehended many matters which would now be regarded as purely municipal in their nature. Among others, he advocated the building of direct and cross drains in every street to carry off water, the naming and lighting of streets, the regular registration of births and deaths and the licensing of liquor, arrack and toddy shops; as well as the creation of a body of policemen with a central police office and several watch-houses in the different parts of the town.

The police were to have regular lists of the inhabitants of every street with their trades and also of the shops with the animals used for drawing them, as well as all carriage animals, were also to be registered. Complaints about servants for insolence or misbehaviour, the regulation of their wages, the prices of cooly-hire and the like were to be settled by head of the police. Fuel and grass for animals were to be provided for so that the market would never suffer any scarcity in these articles. A tax was to be levied on property for defraying the expenses of these improvements as an annual rate not exceeding one per cent.

Popham renewed the plan in the time of Governor Sir Archibald Campbell (1786-1790); and consequently the Governor constituted a Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices of provisions in the markets and for the preservation of cleanliness in

the town as well as for the regulation of the wages of servants. Popham himself was appointed Secretary to this Committee of regulation as it was called. It was however short-lived and was abolished practically by 1791, even as Dupre's Board of Police had a short existence.

Popham's opinion on the administration of justice among the natives was embodied in a long note prepared before December 1783 and preserved in P. C. of 28th February 1784. He considered that the Charter of George II was responsible for the existing difficulties and that the exclusion of the natives from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court was caused by a petition from the native inhabitants to the Directors made at the instance of the then Governor's Dubash. It was an avowed object of the Charter of 1753 to secure uniformity of practice in the courts of the three Presidencies. The following remarks of Popham are illustrative of some of the difficulties* arising out of the situation :

'The Mayor's Court is authorised to try, hear and determine all Civil Suits, actions and pleas.....except such Suits or Actions shall be between Indian Natives of Madras Patnam only ; in which case the Charter directs that the same be determined among themselves, unless both parties shall by consent submit the same to the determination of the Mayor's Court.....'

'But the fact is not so, for the Court of Requests, which is for the determination of matters of property (that is of Debts, duties, or matters which shall not exceed the value of five pagodas) extends to all persons.....'

'The fact is that the determination of a dispute for five Pagodas was not worth the time of a Governor's Head Dubash ; and those at home who framed the Charter gave implicit faith to the assertion of the petition from not knowing its source ; and the natives of Madras have ever since felt the fatal Effects which the Wily Influence of this Dubash had on the Government of Fort St. George.....'

'The extract of the minutes of consultation of September 1774, shews that the Hon'ble Board took great pains to enquire into the

*The difficulties are pointed out to be that while all persons were equally subject to Criminal laws, the natives had no remedy but arbitration in property disputed.

defects of the Charter as to the Administration of Justice among the natives, and after solemn debate they determined that the natives are left to judge in matters of property and Religion by the power delegated to them from the Country Government. This left the Subject in Question where it was; but your Lordship, etc., will be pleased to recollect that the Jaghire and Circars, as well as the immediate Scite of Fort St. George, Madraspatnam and the districts thereof, were before that time confirmed to the Hon'ble the East India Company by Phirmaund from the Mogul, so that the Sovereign Right was then, and is now, as much in the India Company as it was before such Phirmaund in the Mogul, and they have therefore Competent Ground's for an application to the British Legislature for an adequate Administration of Justice throughout the whole.....'

Stephen Popham was according to Mrs. Fay, "one of the most eccentric of being I have ever met with.....a perpetual projector, a race whose exertions have frequently benefited society but seldom been productive of much advantage to themselves or their families." He argued that the Directors made a serious mistake in disallowing the Board of police and recommended an amendment of the Charter. In their Consultation of the 13th November 1784, the Government resolved to create a special Board of three justices, of whom the sitting Magistrate of the month should always be one and who should meet once a week on Saturday in the forenoon. They should take cognisance of all matters which demanded the interference of the Magistracy, except cases of a trivial nature or of immediate emergency upon which the sitting Magistrate was to decide. Inconvenience had been frequently felt because the execution of awards or decisions passed under the sanction of a Magistrate's authority had been opposed by the parties concerned and the Magistrate had not the means legally to enforce the judgment he had given.

Government had appointed Mr. Benjamin Sullivan to be their Standing Counsel in 1778 and though the Directors annulled the appointment as a new post, Government nominated him to the office of Attorney-General which had been instituted by the Company's order of 17th October, 1687 and in which, as Sullivan contended the office of Standing Council was necessarily included. The Directors

could not question the propriety of the new appointment but disapproved of the augmentation of salary that had been made to Sullivan, two years after he was made the standing counsel. His appointment as Attorney-General was later regularised by Lord Macartney's Council in 1785.

At that time among the practising Attorneys in Madras were Bromleg, Sykes, Popham and Jones. Sykes was the Company's Solicitor, and Popham was nominated by Macartney to act jointly with him. Bromley was generally in opposition to Government and had aided the opposition against Lord Pigot Jones was accused of conniving at barratry and encouraging litigious suits and was debarred from practice at the Quarter Sessions and in the Mayor's Court (1784).

III.

The Mayor's Court had its unsavoury side of scandals and contumaciousness. Its collisions with the Council form interesting reading and their earlier phase had been already noted. In 1788 the Mayor represented that the course of justice was impeded by a resort to appeal against interlocutory orders and the court framed a rule which forbade appeals from such orders to the Court of Appeals, without getting the previous sanction of the Mayor's Court. Government took up the challenge and declared, with the support of their Attorney-General, that the rule was an infringement of the authority vested in the Appeal Court and therefore repugnant to this Charter; and they seriously warned the Mayor's Court against putting the rule in force. The latter court thereupon addressed the Directors and held that the President and Council had no authority under the Charter to interfere with their Court in matters of procedure. Government again urged the Court to reconsider their view and hoped they would suspend the application of their rule pending the receipt of instruction from Home.

In another matter Government found the Mayor's Court defective. They seriously found fault with the working of the court on account of the delay that attended the settlement of a case for over two years; and they wrote to the Directors, urging on them the desirability of appointing judges who should have some legal training. Governor

Oakley addressed the Directors, on the 15th April 1791 that the administration of justice for the last twenty years was marked by a lack of judicial and legal ability. The judges felt their want of experience and their consequent inability to settle points which required legal as well as mercantile knowledge, and attorneys who professed or claimed such knowledge obtained considerable influence in these courts as the judges could not claim any legal skill. Moreover the jurisdiction of the Courts, both civil and criminal, had been largely extended to places, persons and offences that were before not subject to their authorities and added: "By such extension the business has increased to a degree which renders it utterly impracticable for any but professional Judges to execute it with due solemnity and effect....."

'Upon the whole, we would submit for consideration and advice the the propriety *1st* of having professional judges for the Civil and Criminal Courts, *2ndly* of making the Jurisdiction here subordinate to the Supreme Court of Bengal, *3rdly* of restraining appeals to *final Decrees*, and to the Supreme Court of Judicature instead of permitting them to be carried to England, which creates a delay as hurtful to the just suitor as it is favourable to him whose interest lies in protractions' (signed Charles Oakley etc. Council—15th April 1791).

These suggestions led to the passing of the Act of the 33rd George III which was virtually a new Charter to the Company and was dated 11th June 1793. Hitherto the Governors and Members of Council alone were justices of the peace. But the Act authorised the appointment by the Governor-General of such additional justices as he might deem to be necessary under Commissions issued by the Supreme Court of Calcutta. These additional Justices were not capable of holding any Court of Over and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, unless the Justices of the court (*i. e.*) the President and Members of Council) should call upon them to do so and they were to be first specially authorised by an order in council. These additional justices were also empowered to hear appeals, when empowered to do so by the Governor-General.*

Three such justices were appointed for Madras. Trouble began almost immediately over their competence. When these new justices

*Russell—*A Collection of Statuts of the East India Company* (1794).

sat at the Sessions of July 1794, the Grand Jury declared that, since there were only but two members of council sitting on the bench as Justices, and the President had left after the first day's sitting, and was absent on other duty, they had great doubts whether the new Justices had any legal capacity to vote in the Court of Sessions; inasmuch as the Charter of Justice of 1793 had expressly specified that the Governor or President and two Members of Council should sit and be competent to hold a Court of Session of Oyer and Termina. And the presentment of the Grand Jury was forwarded to Bengal for the opinion of the Supreme Court. The sequel is not known.

The proceedings of the Court of Quarter Sessions are preserved in the Madras Records for the years 1761-1798. Murders which were atrocious were punished with hanging in chains. Thieves were whipped at the cart's tail. Sometimes the condemned man was transported for 14 years to Sumatra. In cases of execution, the body was to be hung in chains. When an Indian was on trial for a capital offence it was usual to empanel a jury composed of Englishmen and Indians in equal proportions. In two cases concerning slaves who were accused there were long debates among the Jurymen. "In both cases the jury was composed of six Indians and six Englishmen, and in both cases the Indians were for acquittal, the Englishmen for a verdict of guilty. On both occasions they had to be shut up for the night, and the Englishmen were given a loaf of bread and a couple of bottles of wine, while the Indians were given an allowance of pan. At least verdicts of Guilty were found." (PP. 152-153 of Dodwell's *The Nabob of Madras*).

The Grand Jury frequently indulged in making presentations of matters on which they wanted amendment, *e. g.*, the condition of the town gaol where imprisoned debtors and criminals were mingled indiscriminately, the condition of the water-supply, the high price of provisions, the need for fixing prices and wages and the neglect of the proper scavenging of the town. On one occasion, in September 1769, the Grand Jury recommended that the gaol was so much out of repair that it had to be rebuilt and should be built under the wall of the Black Town. In 1786 they made a forceful presentment on the want of proper system of police. They frequently complained, once even as late as 1799, about the prevalence of Hooliganism in Triplicane

which was largely due to the turbulence of the followers of the Nawab. On one occasion, when the Justices refused to read out, and answer in open Court, their presentments, the Jury refused in to examine the bills of indictment. On the first occasion when this happened, a new Jury was empanelled. But it only repeated the resolve of its predecessor and declared that it wished to proceed with other business before examining the bills. When they were summoned and ordered to find a verdict on the evidence of one of the witnesses tendered in their presence, they refused to find a verdict; and three of their number said that they considered the present Jury to be disqualified and incapable of acting. Thereupon they were asked to enter into recognisances to appear and stand their trial at Westminster for contempt of court and obstruction of justice; they pleaded in answer, that they objected on matters of conscience and not from a spirit of contumacy and refused to enter into the required recognisances. The Court then ordered that they should be committed to the common gaol and resolved to move the Council to send them to England by the next ship. Thereupon the recalcitrant jurors became plint, applied for bail, which was refused and then entered into the required recognisances. The leader of these recalcitrants was Paul Benfield of notoriety.*

Among the curious features discernible in the administration of criminal justice was the verdict of a Corner's Jury that death was brought about 'by the visitation of God and excess of liquor.' The Attorneys who practised in the Courts were also a curious lot. The Grand Jury presented barratry (fraudulent or negligent breach of duty and incitement and encouragement of litigation and quarrels) as a common phenomenon. Thus we read of Attorneys refusing to give up the papers of cases entrusted to them by clients who became subsequently dissatisfied with them. At first there were no lawyers who were practising in Madras that had any professional qualifications at all. Several of them were young covenanted servants of the Company with no creditable records of service, and only prompted by a desire

*Curious verdicts (1) "Guilty without Malice," and (2) "Guilty but with a strong recommendation to mercy" were given in the Quarter Session of December 1786.

to make some income. One of them had been threatened with being sent off to Sumatra and dismissed from service, whereupon he became an Attorney. Another had served as a soldier, then as butcher to the garrison and finally became an Attorney in 1753, and it is amusing to learn that when his effects came to be sold, they contained among other articles as evidence of his last job, his wig and gown and a book of law. The first real lawyer in Madras, according to the high authority of Professor Dodwell, was Charles Bromley who claimed to have some experience in the several Courts of Record at Westminster. Others who subsequently enrolled themselves in the Madras Bar, claimed some previous experience in the Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Chancery and the Court of King's Bench in Ireland. Pullein Spencer who first appears in 1784 was sworn as a Barrister of the Irish Court of Chancery. "When he died, his library was found to contain a respectable collection of law books—Wood's *Conveyances* and Hawkins *Plea of the Crown*, Addington's *Penal Statutes* and Butrer's *Nisi prius*, the *Statutes at Large*, and Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and a score of others now forgotten; and at the end of them all, as if to show he was no dry-as-dust pedant, a little volume entitled the *Sports of the Law*." (Dodwell op. cit., p. 159)

Mr. Stephen Popham, well-known for his other activities in the civic life of Madras, was one of the better class of practitioners. He originally came out as Secretary to Sir John Day, Advocate-General in Bengal, but having quarrelled with him preferred to remain at Madras. The quarrel had threatened to develop very nearly into a duel which was celebrated in the Indian journals of the time in the lines oft repeated: "If the astonishing account is true, they met, they talked, they drew, and then withdrew." About Popham a contemporary and colleague in the profession, William Hickey, thus writes: "At the time I arrived at Madras he, by his abilities, had raised himself to the top of his profession, and had for many months been Attorney to the Company, which honourable and lucrative situation added to his private practice must very speedily have secured to him a handsome independent fortune had he stuck to the law alone, instead of which he had twenty wild schemes on foot at one and the same time, which prevented his attending to his business in Court, so that every person who employed him had too much reason to complain of his

shameful negligence." (*Memories of William Hickney*)—Edited by Alfred Spencer, Vol. III 1782-1790, Fourth Edition, p. 95).

Colonel Davison Love has compiled from the records a list of thirteen legal practitioners engaged in active profession of law at Madras in 1798 when the Recorder's Court superseded the old Mayor's Court. Of them one had a standing in Madras of 23 years of service ; eight of them were dubbed Advocates, Attorneys and Proctors, and the remaining 5 were merely Advocate and Attorneys. Three had been military officers and one a surgeon. The oldest of them, John Stuart Hall had a remarkable career in the course of which he resigned from military service, was sued for libel, acted as Editor in the management of the *Madras Courier* then lately founded and finally chose to practise as an Attorney.

IV.

Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras (1794-98), proposed the erection of a Cutchery Court under powers conferred by the Act of 1793, with a view to remove the serious inconveniences experienced by the Natives for want of a jurisdiction to determine questions of property, except in cases where the parties voluntarily agreed to the decision of the Mayor's Court. The Governor minuted in forceful language the necessity for such a court. He thus concluded his minute:—"At this moment, in a Commercial Capital and under a British Government, where either of the Parties is indisposed to Justice, the Creditor has no legal means of recovering his debt, nor the heir his Inheritance....."

The Governor added that there was no real obstacle for the removal of this grievance and that he was fortified by the opinion given in 1786 by legal authorities ; and the Regulations that he proposed for the erection of the Cutchery Court in October 1796, with Mr. Nathaniel Kindersley as Superintendent of the Court were duly passed by the Council. The press of work in the Cutchery Court was so great that within a few weeks an Assistant to the Superintendent had to be appointed. The Court was to be held, twice a week, for the decision of all suits among Natives where the value exceeded five pagodas and where both the Parties were not willing to submit to the decision

of the Mayor's Court. The Court was to have its own seal, a *Canongoe* or Registrar to record the proceedings, an Examiner for the examination of witnesses, Translators and Darogah to execute the decrees and orders of the Court. The Cutcherry Court had, however only a brief existence. When orders were received, in May 1798, along with a new Charter of Justice which provided for the appointment of a Recorder in the person of Sir Thomas Strange, the Cutcherry Court was closed with effect from the 31st May 1798, and the office of Choultry Registrar which had been placed under its control was then released and put on an independent footing. Soon there followed the abolition of the ancient Choultry Court also. The Records of the Cutcherry Court were transferred to the Court of the Recorders which was deemed to provide ample security for all property rights within its jurisdiction and to guard all the rights of the company in land. Sir Thomas Strange, the first Recorder, assembled the Mayor and Aldermen in November 1798 for publishing the Charter, dated the 20th February preceding, for erecting the new Court of Justice in the place of the existing jurisdictions of the Presidency. (*Vide* P. C. of 1st November 1798), under Letters Patent of King George III dated Westminster, 20th February 1798.

The Letters Patent ordained: "A new Court of judicature should be established for the Settlement of Madraspatnam and the Factories and Territories Subordinate thereto and dependant thereon, which should be called 'The Court of the Recorder of Madraspatnam', and should be holden by and before one Principal Judge, who should be called the Recorder of Madraspatnam and should be the President of the said Court, and by and before the Mayor and three of the Aldermen of Madraspatnam to be from time to time selected in rotation to be assistant judges thereof.....This is therefore to Proclaim and Publish that the Court of the Recorder of Madras is in due manner constituted and established, and that all Judicial Powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Mayor's Court at Madras, and by the Governor and Council as a Court of Appeal from the same, and by the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, have, by virtue of the directions contained in His Majesty's Letters Patent thereby ceased and determined, and that all Civil, Criminal, Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Jurisdiction will hereafter be exercised in the Court of the

Recorder of Madras. God save the King!" (P. C., Vol. ccxxx, 1st Nov., 1798).

The Commissioners of the Court of Requests said that their jurisdiction under the new Charter extended to causes not exceeding Rs. 80 in value and suggested that such limit might be regarded as equivalent to 20 star pagodas. But the Attorney-General declared that the Court of Requests should continue to act under the Charter only of 1753 and that the Commissions should be regulated as before by orders of the Director. The Mayor and Aldermen applied to the Government for the sanction of stipends to them on account of the great increase in their work due to the administration of justice in civil and criminal causes, created by the new Charter. But circumstances did not necessitate an urgent disposal of the requests. The Clerk of the Peace now became the Clerk on the Crown side. The Advocates and Attorney of the Recorder's Court had all practised in the Mayor's Court. The territorial limits of Madras suggested by the Government were adopted for its jurisdictional purposes. The rules of procedure however remained to be drawn up. The chief officers of the Recorder's Court, were the Accountant General, Clerk of the Crown and Register (Registrar), of the Court of Admiralty, Prothonotary and Register (Registrar), Deputy Prothonotary and Register, (Registrar), Examiner, Sealer, Clerk to the Recorder, Four Interpreters, two Serjeants and Mace bearers. The Recorder's Court itself was shortly to be merged in a Supreme Court of judicature in September 1801, and the Regulations of the year 1802 created several additional Courts for the districts and for appeal purpose.

Thus, on the eve of the establishment of the Recorder's Court, there were the following Courts at the Madras Presidency. On the civil side there were the Mayor's Court and the Court of Appeals. For criminal causes there functioned the Justice of the Peace for the month, the Quorum of three justices assembling every week, and the Quarter Sessions of the Governor and Members of Council and Additional justices. The Commissioners of the Court of Requests heard small causes and were supplanted by the Court of Cutchery. A Court of Admiralty was summoned whenever it was necessary. Thus all cases were decided either by the Mayor and Aldermen, or by the Governor and councillor and their nominees. None of the judges possessed any

legal knowledge or training, except experience. Solicitors practised in the Courts. An Attorney-General had been secured for Government after great difficulty. Sullivan was confirmed as Attorney-General only in 1786. The Court of Requests had superseded the old Choultry Court, and the Registrar of the Choultry prepared and verified bills of sale of lands and house, which were signed by two justices. The duties of the Sheriff also require detailed notice.

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(*To be continued*)

IDENTITY OF THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS

By DR. B. BHATTACHARYYA

(BARODA).

The 'Āndhrabhṛtya' is an intriguing name in the whole range of Indian history, particularly in the Purāṇas in their dynastic lists. Much has been written about them, their origin, duration of reign 'periods, exploits and identity. Whether all this writing could establish their identity with certitude or to the satisfaction of all concerned, still remains, however, a matter of profound doubt. Moreover, there is hardly any unanimity amongst scholars themselves with reference to this most interesting question. In this short note an attempt will be made to throw additional light on the problem for the consideration of scholars, looking to the importance of the rôle of the Āndhrabhṛtyas in shaping ancient history. Discussion on a countrywide scale is required to be focussed on the subject in order to find out how far the present testimony is acceptable or worthy of rejection.

One of the distinguished scholars who considered the problem from all angles is late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. In his monumental *History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*¹ he has given a detailed account of the Āndhrabhṛtyas and collected the latest information on the subject. There Dr. Jayaswal identified the Āndhrabhṛtyas with the Śātavāhanas in whose line flourished Hārītiputra of the Choṭu dynasty. Whether his views are tenable or not, future research alone can say; nevertheless, he has done a signal service to the historians of the country by collecting all available data on the Āndhrabhṛtyas in his authoritative work which bids fair to remain for several generations a standard work on the dark period of Indian history. In writing this note I am deeply indebted to his History and information contained therein.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out at the outset that all the Purāṇas known hitherto give a summarised account of the dynasties that ruled India after the Āndhras. Although they record the names of the dynasties, they are silent about details, such as the

names of kings, their exploits or the duration of individual reigns. The Purāṇas, however, do not fail to mention the number comprising each dynasty and the aggregate duration of their reigns. Unfortunately, however, even on this point there is hardly any agreement amongst the Purāṇas themselves. Thus complete confusion prevails in the Purāṇas not only with reference to the identity of the dynasties, but also with regard to the number of kings in each dynasty and their aggregate reign periods. Thus Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa give 10 successions to the Ābhīras, while Bhāgavata gives only 7; Viṣṇu follows Bhāgavata and ascribes 7 to the Ābhīras. The Āndhrabhṛtyas who are sometimes called Śrīpārvatīyas are also given seven successions—the same as the Ābhīras—but with regard to the reign periods some Purāṇas ascribe to them 100 years, but others 105. Even these periods are open to doubt since it is difficult to say whether the hazy passages in the present texts of the Purāṇas, not critically edited, have been properly translated, or even understood.

From the foregoing it will be easy to understand the nature of confusion that prevails in our understanding of the problems connected with the Āndhrabhṛtyas, the Śrīpārvatīyas and the Ābhīras. The combined efforts of our historians to identify these dynasties have proved of little avail in the absence of new material, and we are to-day exactly where we were centuries before in spite of much writing. But now, fortunately, we have new material in the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* (KRV) of the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa which gives a complete account of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, with details of succession, names of kings, their number and exploits, the duration of individual reign periods and the total number of years the dynasty held their sway. As this work clears up many problems concerning this mysterious line of kings, I am inclined to bring it to the notice of scholars, for that, obviously, is my duty.

The Purāṇa texts that have come down to us from early antiquity, apparently have reached us in fragments, and not in their entirety, at least in so far as the dynastic lists are concerned. That must be the reason why they are woefully silent about the names of kings and their exploits. The strangest fact in this connection is that the existing texts do not even mention the Imperial Gupta kings who were admittedly one of the most powerful and one of the most influential line of

kings The Guptas are repeatedly mentioned in coins and inscriptions, references to the Guptas are legion in the chronicles of Chinese travellers, exploits of the Guptas are sung in many a Sanskrit poetic work and drama, nay more, their era *Gauṭābda* was current in India for many centuries. How is it that neither Samundra Gupta the erstwhile conqueror and the performer of many Aśvamedha sacrifices, nor Chandra Gupta II who was glorified as the Vikramāditya do not find any mention in the Purāṇas which are pledged to contain dynastic lists of imperial kings ! The answer to this is plain and simple. The portion containing the account of the Guptas in the Purāṇas is lost, and the gap is covered by mere names of the dynasties the identity of which was not even known to the sponsors of the Purāṇas. But that does not mean that the tradition was lost everywhere in India. In the South however it was not so. The South preserved longer and fuller texts of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. It is well-known that the longest text of the Mahābhārata in the northern recension contains one hundred thousand verses, whereas, the southern recension contains exactly double the number, or two hundred thousand verses. It is apparently from such fuller texts of the Purāṇas the author of the KRV drew his materials extensively. The current text of the Purāṇas must have been compiled at a time when historical sense in India had almost disappeared, and when memories of past events became faded, and resolved themselves into a few unmeaning names of dynasties.

The KRV however records most interesting details regarding the Āndhrabhṛtyas, which certainly require careful study and consideration. The evidence of KRV cannot be lightly passed over as some have done without sufficient justification, or by saying that the text is spurious or a forgery. Such a view, even if it may emanate from influential quarters, cannot obviously have much force, since it looks slightly irresponsible. For an *obiter dictum* of that kind more than casual interest in Sanskrit is necessary. Indeed KRV cannot have a claim to infallibility in all details any more than the epigraphist or the numismatist can have claim to absolute wisdom either in reading old inscriptions or coins and seals, or in their interpretation. Like the medical science, epigraphy also has its latest discoveries. The very difference between the earlier and later readings of one and

some material shows that much in it is unreliable and undependable.

But that is a different point. Let us see now what this Purāṇa has to say regarding the Āndhrabhṛtyas and their identity. The KRV while giving an account of the Guptas records the following significant verse :—

तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिगुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।

श्रीपार्वतीयान्धमृत्या इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपा ॥

Op. Cit. intro. p. cii

“ When the kingdom of theirs (the Āndhras) will come to an end, the land will pass on to the Guptas, who will be known as Śrīpārvatīya Āndhrabhṛtyas ”.

By this passage of the KRV the identity of the Āndhrabhṛtyas is clearly established. They are given the epithet of Śrīpārvatīyas and are identified with the Guptas, and thus the conclusion is irresistible that the Imperial Guptas are none else than the Āndhrabhṛtyas. The word Āndhrabhṛtya may be interpreted, according to the rules of grammar, in two ways. It may mean either ‘servants of the Āndhras’ or ‘Āndhras who were servants’. Dr. Jayaswal and others have accepted the latter meaning, although occasionally the other also is tacitly consented to when they are called the Junior Āndhras or Subordinate Āndhras, or when they are differentiated from the real Āndhras (19 kings) from the unreal seven. But in reality the first meaning—‘servants of the Āndhras’—seems to be reasonable and also acceptable to Indian history. This should, indeed, be the most rational and natural interpretation of the term ‘Āndhrabhṛtya’, since KRV clearly lays down that Chandra Gupta I, the first king of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, began his career as a commander-in-chief of the Āndhra kings Chandrasrī Śātakarṇi, and therefore, as a servant of the Āndhra Imperial kings. Chandra Gupta’s successors were called the Āndhrabhṛtyas or the servant successors of the Āndhras. This view is further confirmed by KRV in another passage which may

1. The meaning of Saṁsthiti as ‘extinction’ is more suited in the Purāṇas than its ordinary sense of ‘stability’. Dr. Chhabra pointed this out to me.

be quoted as follows :—

एते प्रणतसामन्ताः श्रीमद्गुप्तकुलोद्भवाः ।

श्रीपावर्तीयान्ध्रमृत्यनामानश्चक्रवर्तिनः ॥

महाराजाधिराजादिवि रुदावत्यलङ्कृतः ।

भोक्ष्यन्ति वदे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशच्च वै समाः ॥

Op. Cit. intro. p. civ.

“ The prosperous kings of the Gupta dynasty will be paid homage by subordinate kings, and they will pass under the name of Śrīpārvatīya Āndhrabhṛtyas and will be emperors. They will have such imperial titles as Mahārājādhirāja and others, and will enjoy the earth for two hundred and forty-five years”.

Thus it can be affirmed that the author of KRV had access to material which is different from that used in the existing Purāṇa texts, such as Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Matsya and others. The compilers of these Purāṇas omitted portions, confused names and numbers, and put every one in an ocean of doubt. The Āndhrabhṛtya problem has, however, been very satisfactorily solved by KRV, regardless of whether it is correct in all minute details or not. T. S. Narayana Shastri in his *Age of S'aṅkara* brought the text to the notice of scholars for the first time as far as I know, and it is necessary that we should be grateful to him. All details regarding the Imperial Gupta dynasty or the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty as found in the text of KRV have been published along with a commentary of my own, and readers who are interested in the subject may refer to my previous article, entitled, *New Light on the History of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty*, above, Vol. XXX (1944).

To sum up, the Āndhrabhṛtyas are the same as the Imperial Guptas for the simple reason that Chandra Gupta I was a servant of the Āndhras. The Guptas are the same as the Śrīpārvatīyas, since they came from Śrīpārvata, a country abounding in Licchavis. Unless there is evidence that the Śrīpārvata of the South was the home of the Licchavis, this Śrīpārvata must be a country adjacent to Nepāl which is known to history as the country of the Licchavis. The Āndhrabhṛtyas, further, had seven successions aggregating a total reign period of 245 years. The Āndhrabhṛtyas held imperial titles and were emperors having a large retinue of subordinate kings. The information

coming from the printed editions of the existing Purāṇas, Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhaviṣya, Matsya and the rest, is fragmentary, confusing, and at places, definitely wrong. This alone is an excellent ground for having critical editions of all the historical material contained in the Purāṇas, both in their southern and northern recensions, and efforts should be directed to this end first, before compilations on a large scale are attempted. Immature compilations are likely to be out of date before the ink is dry on their pages.

The text of KRV is a mine of valuable information on Indian history. It does not give the so-called spurious (?) information only on Sthira Gupta but also on all other Guptas, and more,—on the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, and the Āndhras. The account of the Saptarṣi era as given in KRV is much fuller than that obtained in all the Purāṇas combined, as also in Varāhamihira. Why should a forger forge information on the Saptarṣi era—a problem in which no mortal in this wide world is interested !

KINGSHIP AND NOBILITY IN MEWAR

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Every Rajput State is, generally speaking, one particular clan politically organised into one unit under the pressure of historical circumstances now forgotten. Professor S. C. Dutta says, "In every State the ruling class belongs to one particular clan..... The humblest members of the clan considered themselves along with the ruler as the sons of the same father enjoying their patrimony by the same right as the ruler himself. The latter was thus nothing but a *primus inter pares*..... The State in fact did not belong to the ruler—it belonged to the clan as a whole".¹

But this identity of the clan with the State was not an active force in the Rajput polity of the eighteenth century. Ambitious Princes anxious to imitate the Mughal pattern of autocracy naturally tried to undermine the authority of the clan represented by the nobles. One of the measures adopted by them to serve this purpose was to introduce within their respective States some nobles who were 'foreign in country and blood'. Tod says, "Chiefs of the Rahtore, Chohan, Paramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled"². The epithet of *kala putta*, or 'black grant', was applied to all grants of land to foreign nobles. Naturally the position of these nobles was less secure than that of the nobles of the indigenous clan, and the Prince could place more reliance on outsiders having no root in the soil and absolutely

¹ *The Guardian*, August 27, 1931.

² Ganora, one of the chief towns of Godwar, was held by a Rathor. "From this important district", says Tod, "the Rana could command four thousand Rathores holding lands on the tenure of service, of whom the Ganora Chief, then one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar, was the head". The Chiefs of Rupnagar, a conspicuous member of the second grade of the Rana's nobility, was a Solanki. Bijolii, one of the principal fiefs of Mewar, was held by a Paramara. A Bhatti held the important estate of Khejurla in Mewar. Among the principal nobles of Jaipur ten were 'foreigners'. (These instances are illustrative, not exhaustive, and I have collected them from T's *Personal Narrative*).

dependant on himself. However, the importance of this factor must not be over emphasized. The Prince was never free to dispose of any substantial portion of the patrimony of the clan in favour of 'foreigners'. Tod says, "Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajputs, yet the blood of the chief predominates". The clan system was too strong to be broken.

The composition of the indigenous nobility in Mewar was very complex. Writing in 1859 a British political officer having first hand acquaintance with conditions in Mewar observed, "None of the principal chiefs of Meywar are the descendants of those who received estates in the country on its conquest by Bappa Rawul. Of the existing chiefs, some are of tribes differing from the Oodeypoor family, while the greater number are collateral descendants of comparatively recent Ranas, the oldest and most important being separated from the reigning princes by eighteen generations, or about 480 years. The latter regard themselves as a brotherhood, of which the Rana is the head. They possess peculiar privileges, and are called *Home* chieftains, in contradistinction to chiefs who have emigrated from other countries, and acquired estates and titles in Meywar, and who are called *Foreign* chieftains".

The most important of all the nobles of Mewar, indigenous as well as foreign, was the Rawat of Salumbar, the head of the Chundawat clan, and the direct descendant of Chunda, the eldest son of Rana Lakha, who surrendered his right to the throne to his younger brother Mokul in the 14th century. In renouncing his right to the throne Chunda retained for his descendants the right to advise the Rana on all important matters of State and the principal place in the council of the Prince. This somewhat extraordinary relationship between the ruler and one of the nobles was not peculiar to Mewar. "In each Rajput family and even in each Bheel Pal², especially in case of incompetency in the head, there is a 'Baujgurrea' who is consulted in all important transactions, and without whose advice nothing is undertaken"³. This custom prevailed also in Central India. Malcolm says, "When a noble is raised by his (*i. e.*, ruler's) favour to power, but

¹ Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 54.

² A Bhil 'Pal' means a village inhabited by the Bhils within the estate of a Rajput Chief.

³ Brookes, *History of Meywar*, pp. 54-55.

without distinct office, he is termed a counsellor¹ or mediator; such person being generally deemed a channel of intercourse between the prince and his subjects². It seems, however, that while in Mewar the office was strictly hereditary, in other States and estates it was not so.

The peculiar position of the Rawat of Salumbar raised difficult problems in Mewar. The extent of his powers and privileges was undefined, and the Rana naturally tried to free himself from this thralldom. For generations the Ranas and the Rawats were on bad terms; in spite of this the Chief of Salumbar could not be deprived of his customary privileges. At the time when the treaty with the Company was being drawn out the Rana's agent, who was a relative of the Rawat of Salumbar, wanted to introduce a clause guaranteeing the position of the 'Baujgurree' to the Rawat of Salumbar, but Metcalfe merely gave an assurance that 'the good conduct of the minister would ensure His Lordship's (*i. e.*, the Governor-General's) approbation'. Thus the age-long custom failed to survive the alliance with the Company, and a very unpleasant and inconvenient restriction on the Rana's power was abolished by Metcalfe's shrewd interference.

Next in importance to the Chundawat nobles were the Saktawats, the descendants of Rana Pratap's brother Sakta Singh. These two powerful families were hostile to each other, and the Ranas supported the Saktawats in order to balance the power of the Chundawats. During the long reign of Rana Bhim Singh (1777-1828) the bitter feud between these two powerful families created anarchy and confusion in Mewar and was largely responsible for the depredations of the Marathas in that unhappy State³.

Mewar's contact with the Mughal Empire affected the position of her nobles in two directions. In pre-Mughal times it was the custom to change their *jagirs* after every few years, so that none of them might acquire local attachments. They remained at the Rana's court and tried to please him, for it was to him that they looked for preferment. During the long struggle against the Mughal Empire this system was

1 Malcolm says, "The Hindu name of this officer is Bhanjgurree".

2 *Memoir of Central India*, Vol. I, p. 549.

3 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 151-161.

changed in a way favourable to the nobles. The Ranas were on numerous occasions driven from the plains¹ and compelled to take refuge in hills. During these periods of confusion they could not transfer the nobles from one *jagir* to another, for most of the *jagirs* were virtually under the control of the Mughal garrisons scattered over the country. On the conclusion of permanent peace with the Mughal Government most of the nobles found themselves in possession of fixed estates, from which the Ranas could no longer dislodge them. Moreover, the gallantry and self-sacrifice of the nobles in the long war against the Mughals induced the Ranas to load them with honours and to increase their possessions. Thus in the 17th century the position of the nobility became stronger than ever before. Secondly, the increase of material possessions was accompanied by a simultaneous promotion in rank and honour. Captain Brookes wrote in 1859, "In Durbar, they (*i. e.*, the nobles) take rank above the heir-apparent, a custom unprecedented in India, and granted in consequence of the heir-apparent having attended the Emperor's court². When a chief enters the presence, the entire court, including the prince, rises to receive him, and the whole ceremonial is so intricate, that it has been a puzzle to every European Officer who has had any connection with Meywar"³.

One of the most effective restrictions on the power of the nobles in Mewar was their poverty. They had to supply with food, clothing and opium all their needy relations, even those most remotely connected with them. The size of an estate was no criterion of its owner's affluence, for the owner of large estates might be encumbered with more than the average proportion of dependants. In the eighteenth century the weakness of the Ranas and the confusion created by the introads of the Marathas⁴ enabled many nobles to encroach upon the Crown estates and thereby to increase their own income. It is said that the Chief of Lawah had plundered the covering of the Rana's sole elephant⁵.

¹ The total area of Mewar is about 10,800 square miles, of which 6,300 is plain country and 3,500 hilly and mountainous.

² When Rana Amar Singh concluded peace with Jahangir, it was stipulated that the Rana would be represented in the Imperial Court by his eldest son. It was a special favour granted by the Emperor to the Rana, for all other Rajput Princes were required to attend the Mughal court in person. Still Mewar considered this obligation so humiliating that the heir-apparent was degraded in his own capital.

³ *History of Meywar*, pp. 55-56.

⁴ See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 144-182.

⁵ Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 19.

Towards the beginning of the 19th century, says Tod, "Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilisation fast disappearing, fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts". Brookes says, "The Ranah was reduced to absolute poverty, and dependent for the means of subsistence on the bounty of Zalim Singh, who allowed his Highness 1,000 rupees a month¹. The revenue of the crown lands was reduced to only half a *lakh* of rupees per annum², and the royal retinue could muster hardly 50 horsemen. The Ranah was shut up in the small valley round his Capital, and exposed to the insults of his own feudatories....'³ The condition of the nobles was hardly better. Some of them, indeed, had 'seized upon the villages adjoining their estates, or taking advantage of the Ranah's misery, had obtained for a few hundred rupees, sunnuds of places yielding thousands under more favourable circumstances; but the generality, whose possessions were more exposed to the rapacity of the Mahrattas, were wretchedly poor, and one of the first class, the Chohan Chief of Kotario, had not even a horse on which to attend his master'⁴. Though victims of a common fate the Rana and his vassals were not on good terms. Tod says, "Should they (*i. e.*, the nobles) meet their prince (*i. e.*, the Rana), it is more as equal sovereigns than as sovereign and vassal". We are told that most of the nobles had never attended the Rana's *Durbar* or even seen his face⁵.

One of the first and most important steps taken by Tod on his appointment as British Agent at Udaipur in 1818 was to draw up some articles of agreement (*Kaulnamah*) between the nobles and the Rana. Tod describes his own difficulties in the following words: 'All dreaded the word 'restitution' and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the corner-stone of the edifice, which anarchy and oppression had dismantled. Feuds were to be appeased, a difficult and hazardous task; and usurpations, both on the crown and each other, to be redeemed. 'To bring the wolf and

¹ After the conclusion of the treaty with the Company the Rana received Rs. 1,000 daily for his household expenses.

² Tod says that, while the spring harvest of 1818 yielded Rs. 40,000, that of 1821 yielded Rs. 10,18,478.

³ *History of Meywar*, p. 19.

⁴ *History of Meywar*, p. 19.

⁵ Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 19.

the goat to drink from the same vessel', was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chondawat and Suktawut labour in concert for the welfare of the prince and the country". However, after 'painful and protracted negotiations' an agreement was concluded in May, 1818. The most important articles ran as follows:—

1. All *Khalsa* villages¹ seized by the chiefs in times of trouble and commotion shall be restored.²

2. All new *chowkeedaree*³ *bhoom* and *lagut*⁴ shall be renounced.

3. *Dan*⁵, *Biswa*,⁶ the right of the Government, shall be renounced, the same to be levied by the *Sree Durbar*.

4. No chief shall be permitted to harbour in his *Putta*, thieves, plunderers, *thugs*, *mogheas*, *baorees*, and *thorees*⁷ . . .

5. According to command at home or abroad, service shall be performed,⁸ the chiefs shall be formed in four divisions, each shall remain in attendance on the *Durbar* for three months, and then be dismissed to their homes. Once a year a general assembly of the chiefs shall take place. . . . On urgent occasions, or when their services are required, all shall obey the summons to the presence.

6. All feudatories, (*putaets*) relations, and kindred holding by *sunnud* from the *Durbar*, shall perform separate service. They shall

1 Crown lands. See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 111-112.

2 "... the possessions to be restored (from the nobles) had not been all obtained by force; many had been grants for honourable service: however, no difference could be allowed, as enquiry would have been invidious, and have retarded the settlement". (Brookes, *History of Meywar*, pp. 23-24). The nobles had to suffer serious losses. The estate of the Chief of Deogarh fell from two *lakhs* of rupees a year to one *lakh*, and many others suffered equally. Brooks says, "When the strong attachment of Rajpoots to land, however obtained, is considered, and when it is borne in mind that the whole influence of the families and retainers of the chiefs must have been exerted to prevent a diminution of the estates, this voluntary sacrifice of so great a portion of their property cannot but be regarded as a remarkable exhibition of their desire to preserve their country and Government, and of the influence over their minds possessed by the officer (*i. e.* Tod) who could induce them to accede to it". (*History of Meywar*, p. 57).

3 *Rekwalet*. See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 131-134.

4 Dues.

5 Transit duty.

6 Transit duty.

7 *Mogheas*, *baorees* and *thorees* were different classes of thieves in Mewar.

8 "The amount of the quotas with which service was to be performed was the same as formerly, *viz.*, two horsemen and four foot soldiers per 1,000 rupees of rent". (Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 57).

not perform with or remain united in the larger *puttas* of others. Relations and inferior vassals of chiefs from whom they hold in fee, to them shall their services be rendered.¹

This *Kaulnamah* did not provide for any money-payment from the nobles in addition to service provided for by articles 6 and 7. Even in Tod's time, however, one-sixth of the rent rolls of the nobles was realized by the Rana, at first on the occasion of his daughters' marriages, then for the purposes of police. This was the origin of the assessment called *Chhatund* (one-sixth). Originally it was an illegal impost, and the nobles reluctantly submitted to it because they were induced to believe that it was levied by order of the British Government.

In 1827 Captain Cobbe, Political Agent in Mewar, tried to legalize the *Chhatund* with the consent of the nobles. He proposed that they should pay to the Rana one-sixth of the annual income of their estates, and in return they should be excused half of the service they were bound by Tod's *Kaulnamah* to perform, *i. e.*, they were to perform service for three months in the year with one horseman and two footmen per 1000 rupees of rent.² He induced the Rana and the nobles to conclude a new *Kaulnamah*, of which the most important articles were as follows :—

1. The *Chhatund* shall be levied at the rate of one-sixth of the actual produce, and shall be paid regularly in half-yearly *kists*; beyond this contribution no claim or arbitrary fine shall be inflicted.

2. Every *sirdar*, accompanied by half the quota he is by *sunnud* bound to produce, shall do personal service in his turn for three months in each year; at the expiration of his tour, he will be permitted by His Highness to retire to his *jagir*.

In forwarding this *Kaulnamah* to the Supreme Government Sir Charles Metcalfe suggested that the agreement should be 'sanctioned without being guaranteed; in other words, acknowledged as the act of the Rana and his chiefs'. He was not prepared to guarantee the faithful observance of the pact by either party on the ground that the assumption of that responsibility would 'render perpetual' the interference of

¹ Tod says, "This article had become especially necessary, as the inferior chiefs, particularly those of the third class, had amalgamated themselves with the head of their clan, to whom they had become more accountable than to their prince".

² Captain Cobbe to Sir David Ochterlony, February 20, 1825.

Captain Cobbe to Sir Charles Metcalfe, April 23, 1827.

the British Government in the internal affairs of Mewar.¹ This recommendation was accepted by the Supreme Government: the *Kaulnamah* was sanctioned but not guaranteed².

Towards the close of Bhim Singh's reign the oppressive measures of his ministers drove some nobles into rebellion, and he applied to the British Government for armed assistance against them. Sir G. Colebrooke wrote to Captain Cobbe on March 19, 1828, 'I cannot hold out any hope that Government may be induced to authorize the active interference solicited, of a military force for suppressing enormities to which the measures of the ministers themselves have given rise'.³ After Bhim Singh's death (March 31, 1828) his successor, Jowan Singh, again applied for troops to suppress his rebellious nobles. The reply of the Supreme Government was unfavourable: "If troops are employed at the requisition of the native authorities to coerce their subjects, it becomes necessary to extend the cognizance and protection of the Government to the latter".

The question of *Chhatund* was revived some years later by the successor of Jowan Singh. In 1841 Rana Sardar Singh argued that the amount of *Chhatund* should increase correspondingly with the increase in the income of every estate. In Jowan Singh's time the *Chhatund* had in many cases been commuted into a fixed money-payment; while most of the estates had increased in value, the original money payments remained the same. A *Kaulnamah* concluded on February 1, 1840, contained the following clause: "As several chiefs wilfully withhold and delay the payment of the *Chuttoon*d.....His Highness has resolved to invite agents on the part of the whole of the chiefs, to enforce payment of *Chuttoon*d by two instalments....that if any of the chiefs fail to pay the *Chuttoon*d ten days after it has been due, they would render themselves liable to the confiscation of their lands and villages to the extent of the defalcation which shall not be restored to them". Colonel Robinson, Political Agent in Mewar, signed this agreement as a witness, 'without any pledge, or guarantee on his part to see its conditions fulfilled'.

1 Metcalfe to Secretary to Government, May 7, 1827.

2 Metcalfe to Cobbe, June 7, 1827.

3 In 1818 Metcalfe wrote to the Supreme Government: "...the *Thakur* have rights as well as the Raja, and we could not undertake to enforce obedience, without ascertaining that we were not about to become the instruments of oppression". (See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 321-22). Although this principle was meant for Marwar, it was equally applicable to Mewar.

As this agreement failed to solve the problem, the Court of Directors approved Colonel Robinson's suggestion that it should be cancelled and the payments due from the nobles should be settled by a fair compromise.¹ So another *Kaulnamah* was concluded by Rana Suroop Singh and the nobles on February 8, 1845. It was 'mediated by Colonel Robinson and in his presence signed by both parties'. It was provided that the chiefs would pay *Chhatund* at the rate of 2 *annas* 7½ *pies* in the rupee in commutation of half the troops they were bound to furnish according to the terms of Tod's *Kaulnamah*. Although the Directors approved this agreement², they soon found that it contained no settlement of the differences which had arisen concerning the *chuttooand*. They observed, "We perceive the Maharana still accuses the chiefs of not fulfilling their engagements, and we regret to find the misunderstanding seems to be in no degree diminished".³

In 1850 the crisis reached its climax. The Maharana, with the sanction of the Political Agent, confiscated a large portion of the estates of the Chiefs of Salumbar and Deogarh on the grounds of the non-performance of service and the non-payment of *chhatund*.⁴ In 1851 these two chiefs expelled the Rana's troops from their estates and forcibly reoccupied those villages which had been sequestered. The Rana applied for assistance to the British Government. Colonel Low, Agent to the Governor-General, visited Udaipur and made it clear that British interference in the internal affairs of Mewar was to be deprecated. He wrote, "It is particularly desirous that His Highness should be made to understand, that he is not to look for assistance from the paramount State in such petty matters of his interior administration".⁵ In 1853 an enquiry was held into the causes of the quarrel between the Rana and the Chiefs. Captain Brooke came to the conclusion that 'the forbearance of the chiefs for so long a period' was to be ascribed to 'the illusion that the British Government was acting the part of an unconditional supporter of the sovereign'.

1 Despatch of the Court of Directors, March 19, 1845, Para 24.

2 Despatch of the Court of Directors, January 2, 1846, Paras 14-17.

3 Despatch of the Court of Directors, February 21, 1849, Para 30.

4 The Chief of Salumbar was not liable to the demand of *Chhatund*.

5 Colonel Low to Colonel Lawrence, June 21, 1852.

6 Captain Brooke to Colonel Lawrence, February 5, 1853.

On the completion of the enquiry Colonel Lawrence prepared a new *Kaulnamah* in 1854, in which the amount of *Chhatund* was fixed at a medium rate between that demanded by the Rana and what had heretofore been paid by the Chiefs.¹ Captain Brookes wrote in 1859, "The Rana . . . signed the document, because he desired to cast the onus of refusal upon the chiefs. Both are equally opposed to its provisions, but the Rana perhaps more so than the chiefs; as he considers that a door would be opened by it for his subjects to prefer their complaints against his arbitrary acts, which would materially diminish his power as an independent Sovereign, of which he is very jealous".² The Rana's apprehension was not groundless. In forwarding his *Kaulnamah* to the Supreme Government Colonel Lawrence had observed, ". . . now that by calling on us to interfere, the respective parties have given us a right to do so effectually, I am of opinion, that whether our arrangement proves acceptable or not to the contending parties, we ought to avail ourselves of this opportunity for the future peace of the country".³

This brief survey of the relations between the Ranas of Mewar and their nobles during the first half of the 19th century brings out several interesting points. In the first place, even the turmoil of the 18th and early 19th centuries and the contact with the British could not change the medieval complexion of the Rajput State. Neither the King nor the nobility even dimly grasped the necessity of modifying customs and institutions which had long outlived their utility. Secondly, the shifting policy pursued by the British Government was at least partly responsible for the ever-recurring complications in Mewar. The Political Agents played the role of mediator, supporter of the Rana and supporter of the nobles at different periods. Neither the Ranas nor the nobles knew for certain at any given moment whether they could depend upon the support of the British Government. Finally, the history of Mewar during this period illustrates the truth of Sidney Owen's well-known observations on the system of Subsidiary Alliance. ". . . the native Prince being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions, but deprived of so many of the essential attributes of sovereignty, sinks in his own esteem, and loses that stimulus to good

1 Colonel Lawrence to Sir Henry Lawrence, October 31, 1854.

2 *History of Meywar*, p. 71.

3 Colonel Lawrence to Sir Henry Lawrence, October 31, 1854.

government, which is supplied by the fear of rebellion and deposition. He becomes a *roi faineant*, a sensualist, an extortionate miser, or a careless and lax ruler....The higher classes, coerced by external ascendancy, in turn lose their self-respect, and degenerate like their master; the people groan under a complicated oppression which is irremediable. Thus, in spite of the Resident's counsels and attempts to secure good government, the back of the State, so to speak, is broken; the spirit of indigenous political life has departed: the native community tends to dissolution....".

MEDIAEVAL KINGSHIP IN THE DECCAN

By DR. K. K. BASU, BHAGALPUR.

The Muslim conquest of Peninsular India is a momentous event and an interesting episode in the history of India in general and the Deccan in particular. The victory of the Muslims of northern India over the people of the south resulted in the penetration of northern culture, political institutions and social customs in to the south and the fusion of the two cultures, northern and southern.

The progenitors of the Muslim ruling houses in the south, the legal heirs of their northern were, it may be urged, either Hindu renegades or Muslim adventurers of unknown or doubtful origin, raised by the court historians to the dignity and eminence of a princely rank connected with Constantinople or Persia. There is a bundle of tales and traditions to account for the origin and early history of Alauddin Hasan Shah, the founder of the Bahmani house. In the first chapter of the first volume of his *Burhan-i-Maasir*, Ali Tabataba says in connection with the pedigree of Alauddin Hasan Shah that the author of *Ainul Tawarikh* and other writers who took up the cue from the former mentions that Bahman Asfandiyar was the forefather of Hasan and that it was on this very account that the dynasty of Hasan has been designated *Bahmani*. Side by side, Tabataba provides another version according to which one Bahram Gor is the predecessor of Alauddin Hasan, and the successors of Bahram are named in order of succession as Daud, Nowshin, Shad, Shirin, Bahram, Saneh, Nuh, Mansur, Nasir, Ibrahim, Nuh, Salam, Simun, Bahram, Hasan, Ali, Muhammad and Kai Kaush. Rafiuddin Shirazi, the veteran official of the Bijapur court, in his *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, dealing with the Deccani sultans and written about 1608 A. D. has hardly given any independent opinion regarding the genealogy of Hasan Shah on account of the doubt that he entertained for its exactness, but has cleverly referred to the two main versions that were current during his days regarding

the subject and has offered no comment on either. He refers not only to Hasan's Iranian pedigree and his royal descent, but also mentions the second view relating to his Brahmanic origin and his close intimacy and connection with Ganga Pandit. According to the second view, Hasan was a man of unknown pedigree, who had been picked up on the wayside by the said Brahman, the latter being struck by an auspicious omen, for a poisonous cobra was found shielding the sleeping Hasan by its outspread hood from the rays of the Sun and later tended by him. For the kind and charitable services rendered to a stranger impelled by no motive of self gain, Hasan promised the Brahman in return to call his own self and his family "Brahman" which was in course of time corrupted into Bahman or Bahmani, the family name. The theory that Alauddin was not a Hindu by origin but a Persian of royal family still awaits final solution.

Historians likewise disagree in their opinion about the lineage of Yusuf Adil Shah, the first ruler of Bijapur. Some of them are of opinion that he descended from the rulers of Turkey, while others hold that he was related to a Turkish chief of Persia. Ferishta, the well-known writer of the Indian Muhammedan Dynasties, has counted upon Yusuf's Turkish royal lineage quoting as his authority Mirza Muhammad Savi, the vizier of the Adil Shahis. An interested court official as Mirza Muhammad was, it was not unlikely that he put false colours on the subject; besides, the strong and positive inclination of Yusuf towards the Imamiya rites and his adoption of the same on his accession to the throne throw grave doubt on his Turkish pedigree. Rafiuddin Shirazi, the Bijapur historian, referred to before, has based his theory on the report that he received from the keeper of the mortuary of Yusuf Adil, and has remarked that Yusuf's father Mahmud was married to the sister of the Turkish chief of Persia. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi in his survey of the Adil Shahis compiled in the nineteenth century, has contented himself by quoting the above two theories regarding Yusuf's ancestry and offers no definite opinion of his own in the matter.

Regarding the genealogy of Malik Ahmad Bahri the foregoing Muslim historian Ali Tabataba gives in his *Burhan-i-Maasir* two anecdotes based on the version given in an unnamed historical work and hearsay stories. According to one anecdote, Ahmad was the son

of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani by a beautiful Hindu damsel captured in war. The second version which is in most part the same as the first relates that Ahmad was the son of a slave girl kept in the royal harem. Sir Wolsey Haig, the author of the history of the Nizamshahi kings, doubts the authenticity of Tabataba's narrative and maintains that Ahmad was the son of one Malik Naib or Hasan, a renegade Brahman who was originally known as Timma Bhat and belonged to the Kul-karni or Patwari family at Pathri on the Godavari.

The ancestry of Quli Qutbshah, the founder of the Qutbshahis of Golconda is likewise open to doubt. Mir Abul Qasim, the author of *Hadiqut-ul-Alam* states on the authority of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*; a work of unknown authorship, that Quli Qutb was the son of Amir Zada Wais Quli and fourteenth in succession from Yafet, the ruler of Turkey. The said two works further state that Quli Qutb's mother was born of a noble family of Persia. Ferishta has merely referred to the two orthodox opinions of Quli Qutb's pedigree, the Turkish and Persian, but has particularly doubted the latter on the ground of having no good authority for supporting it.

Fathullah Imad of Berar had unfortunately no court historian of his own who could pitch him up in some high royal family. He suffers for want of a good and friendly defence to his cause. Ferishta writes that he was a renegade Canarese of Vijayanagar: Rafiuddin supports Ferishta and further adds that he was a low-born Hindu, in fact, a grocer by birth.

Qasim Barid, like Fathullah, had no historian of his own who could give sanctity to his pedigree. He suffers at the hands of the historian of a hostile court like Fesishta who observes that he was a Turkish slave brought to the Deccan and that it was on account of his valour and ability that he rose to a high position under the Bahmani kings.

In political theory and in practical politics the Muslim rulers of the Deccan not unlike their compeers of the north were absolute and supreme. The Sultan was at the head of the constri, (*sic*), and like the Pharoah and Nimrod he claimed divinity as well as royalty. The kingly dignity, that finds eloquent expression in the works of Abul Fazl, the upholder of royal supremacy, has been maintained by the historians of the south. In the introductory portion of the renowned work,

Akbarnama, the king has been referred to as "the essence of sunlight and shadow of God", "the lord of universal reason", "provider of the age by reason of his wisdom," and so on'. Likewise were the Muslim Kings of the south regarded by their historians, as the "lord of the world and mankind" (*Sultanul Alamul Adam*); "the moon in the sky of Khelafat or Vicegerency" and "the Jupiter in the sky of fortune"; (mehr-i sipahr-i khelafat wa mushtar-i falk-i sa'adat); "the refuge of religion"; "master of the land and sea" "candle of the family of Khelafat"; "born in the family of Darā", "holding the Sun as his crown" (*Khurshid-i-Tajgir*). Instances of such hyperbolic expressions used for the glorification of kingly authority illustrate the hectic craze of the historians for maintaining royal absolutism. In fact, the king was all-powerful, a worthy representative of the vicegerency of God, in pomp and magnificence equal to the renowned Persian King Dara. He held in his own hands the reins of executive, judicial and military administration.

The Indian monarchy of the mediaeval age was not a highly centralised national state but a dynastic empire. Like the kingship in Hindu India succession to the throne, though hereditary in principle, went by royal nomination, election by the nobility and personal accomplishments of the princes. The personal factor of the reigning sovereign counted for much in politics. The strong hand of the rulers led to the rapid growth of royal power and brought prosperity to the country. But under feeble grasp the administrative machinery was dislocated and there was contraction of the kingdom. The capital was converted into an arena for a sort of gladiatorial contest between the rival political parties that contended for power.

This theory of monarchical absolutism that became the dominant thought in the middle ages was counterbalanced by the idealistic theory of kingship enunciated by the poets and writers on political theories of the same period. The twelfth century "Prophet of Poetry", Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz, in the first chapter of his inimitable *Gulistan* has poured contempts on the tyrants who by their actions sap their own countries foundation wall.

"Padshah pasban i darwesh ast,

* * *

Gusfund az barae Chaupan nist,
Balki chaupan barae khidmat ust,"

"Kings are but guardians of the poor.

*

*

*

Not for the shepherd's welfare is the sheep.

The shepherd rather is for pasturing them".

Again, that immortal and incomparable Hafiz of Shiraz, "the interpreter of Mysteries" and a contemporary of Timur the Great, has declared.

"Far better in a king one hour in deeds of justice passed.

Than piety and works austere that five score years should last."

Further, Hussain Waiz-i-Kashifi, a writer of the later Timurid period, in his remarkable work, *Anwar-i-Suheili*, or the "Lights of Canopus" observes,

"In reason's code the prophet and the King,

Are but two jewels in the self same ring."

The earliest Muslim writer of southern India on political theories so far as it is at present known, is Malik Saifuddin Gori. As a *Vakil-us Sultanat* or the vicegerent of the Bahmanids, Malik Saifuddin has earned for himself the reputation of a farsighted statesman. He is the writer of a reputed work named *Nasaihul-Muluk* or advice to the kings which unfortunately though not extant in the present age has left living memories of the wisest sayings that it contained. From the quotations of the said work made by subsequent writers, one learns that the work contained words of advice to rulers.

An ideal king is one who is a practical statesman of strong character and noble qualities: an appraiser of merit, a man of wisdom and sound judgment: farsighted, merry, cheerful, uncredulous, munificent, religious, considerate towards the poor and helpless, cautious careful, prudent and vigilant towards enemies, one who attends public levees for attending to petitions and taking proper actions on them, and frequently consults his ministers on affairs of state.

The *Dasturul Amal* of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur provides a daily routine of the sultan and shows that the life of the king was one long round of responsible duties. The foremost duty of the sovereign is to practice equity in the administration of justice, to look to the comfort of the subject population, and make the country habitable and pleasant, to collect an army of warlike soldiers, and appoint faithful

and intelligent ministers. For the first three hours in the morning he should keep the company of the learned, scholars, and poets and discuss on current events. During the next three hours he should hold his seat in the hall of public audience and exact homage from the high officials, nobles, soldiery and people. On the last three hours of the day he should carry on the business of government in private and for three hours of the night he should remain in the retiring room carrying on the work of administration. It is only after the prayer of sunset and remaining portion of the night that the Sultan should enjoy rest. Besides, on every full-moon day the Sultan should hold the public darbar and in the beginning of every calendar month he should take his seat in the hall of justice receiving homage from the nobles and viziers and doing justice to the people.

Firuz Shah Bahmani, a charitable and religious minded ruler, and his queen maintained their livelihood from the sale proceeds of the Quran which they wrote with their own hands. The fact that the sultan dismissed the royal guards shows how popular he was with the people. Makhduma-i-Jahan, the mother of Mahammud Shah and the Queen Regent of the empire—the only instance of a Muslim lady holding the reins of administration in her hands under the Bahmanid regime—was noted for her impartial justice and equal treatment of people, irrespective of caste and creed.

Ahmad Nizam Shah, the founder of the Nizamshahi house at Ahmadnagar was one of the ideal Sultans of the south. Exceedingly pure in morals he never glanced either to the right or to the left when riding through the city. Once, being asked by one of his intimate companions why he never looked around him on those occasions he replied that he did so because he could not look upon the crowded streets and market places without seeing some body upon whom it was not proper to gaze! There is another example of Burhan's austerity and piety narrated in *Burhan i Maasir*. As a result of the conquest of Rawil by the Nizamshahis a large number of captives fell into the hands of the conquerors and among the prisoners there was a woman of exquisite beauty, who was particularly chosen out and sent as a present to the sultan by his commandant. The young sultan was not swayed by the lusts of the flesh: he treated the young woman with respect and sent her to her husband. Instances have also been cited in the

foregoing work how the Sultan converted even the cowards of his army to brave men by his kind and sympathetic treatment. The manner in which a chicken-hearted soldier was treated by the offer of a quid of betel and the conferment of robes of honour along with those who had distinguished themselves in battle made the coward display act of valour in the battle field.

Burhan Nizam, the successor of Ahmad Nizam, was a chip of the old block. He was in the habit of taking counsel with his ministers and officers of state before entering on any enterprise and in all matters of administration. If any of his ministers and officers happened to be absent when any matter was discussed, the arguments were by the king's commands repeated to him by the other councillors and he was called upon for his opinion. Another characteristic of Burhan was his exact and methodical appointment of his time both for business and for amusements. A merciful king, Burhan never acted hastily or without careful consideration in punishing the wrong doers.

With a strong claim to statesmanship Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur bore no trace of bigotry which characterised his age. He adopted the principles of tolerance in matters of religion and maintained the dictum "My faith for myself and your faith for yourself". Yusuf's successor Ismail was noted for his prudence, justice and patience. He was so tender-hearted as to excuse even the hardened and incorrigible criminals. Ali Adil I of Bijapur was by nature charitable, having in him a rare combination of the idealist and the practical man of affairs.

During his rule, lasting for about half a century, Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda established a strong and efficient administration. His strict and impartial justice had brought tranquility in the land. Muhammad Quli Qutb, the successor of Ibrahim, was a sovereign pure in character, intelligent and learned. Pious and devotional, he was an expert in the arts and the sciences.

In culture, most of the Muslims rulers of the south were specimens and products of the intellectual tendencies of the age. Possessed with an artistic and scholarly temper of mind, they had a living interest in letters and art. Scholarship received countenance and furtherance at the hands of the scholar Sultans and the country owes an amazing debt in literature to them. A proper assessment of the standard of culture that the country attained under their fostering care would

make the present article too long: a separate discussion is necessary for its proper evaluation.

The Sultans of the south were the fountains of justice and the highest courts of appeal. The method of judicial administration in vogue under the Sultans will, it is believed, be not out of place here. The *Dastur-ul-Amal* of the Bijapur Court refers to the use of a stringed bell bigger than those fastened to the foreparts of the elephants kept hanging in the palace, so that, when the petitioner rang it, the sound reached the innermost recesses of the royal residence where the king might remain and attracted his attention. It was only when the petitioner found his petition not taken care of by the officials that he pulled the chord of this bell of justice at a particular time appointed for the purpose. The *Dad mahal* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda built and named after the hall of justice constructed by the renowned Persian king, Nausherwan, was provided with a similar bell and chain for the use of petitioners. The use of a similar bell of justice in the Agra fort during the rule of Jahangir is interesting and instructive. The custom points either way—a copy from a common origin at Persia or the imitation made by the kings of southern India of the custom prevalent in the north.

The merciful and clement practices of Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar when he sat to try cases have been related by Ali Tabataba in his *Burhan i Maasir*. If any person was accused of an offence and the case came up at the royal court of justice, the king would put to the prisoner the question whether he was guilty of the offence charged against him or not. The object of the king was that the prisoner might deny his guilt and so be freed from imprisonment. If the guilty person was clever enough to divine the object of the quest that had been put to him and denied the charge, he was at once set free, but if, on the contrary, he confessed his guilt, the king in his mercy and clemency would say, "Tie your turban again," in order that the person might realize the inner significance of the question and take up the hint and by denying his guilt escape punishment.

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF AURANGZEB.

By SYED HASAN ASKARI, M. A., B. L.

Bihar, since the time of Akbar, enjoyed the status of an absolutely independent administrative unit of the Moghul Empire, and the policy of appointing separate¹ governors for it, not being subject in any way to the authority of the subedar of Bengal, was followed till the 47th² year's of Aurangzeb's reign. But long before Azimushan, who was given Bihar in this year, in addition to his viceroyalty of Bengal, and Cooch Behar, another prince, Shah Shuja, who ruled twice³ over Bihar and Orissa, altogether for about 18 years, had coveted⁴ Behar as well and had once signified his readiness to exchange⁵ Bihar for Orissa. He got a good opportunity to make Bihar an appanage of his other eastern possessions in the closing years of the reign of his father, but he lost it, either because of his ambition which made him claim the Imperial throne itself or because he was too shrewd not to realise the real nature of the offers, made at different time, on behalf of the helpless emperor, Shahjahan, by his brothers, Dara⁶ Shikoh and Aurangzeb.⁷ There is no dearth of materials regarding the history of the fratricidal wars among the sons of Shahjahan but the incidental

1 *Vide* writer's paper on Bihar etc. in P. I. H. C., Aligarh and in B. P. P. Calcutta.

2 M. A. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Moalla (Sarkar's ms).

3 1049 to 1057 and 1059 to 1068.

4 S. J. N.

5 R. A. Edit. by Prof. Najib Ashraff Nadvi.

6 The Jaipur Records quoted by Prof. Qanungo in his book, Dara Shikob, says that soon after the march of the imperial army Shuja wrote to Dara asking for the grant of Monghyr which formed a part of Dara's province of Bihar. Dara was prepared to give away the fort of Monghyr provided that the fortress was dismantled and Shuja's sons did not reside there. Murad's letter in R. A. refer to the designs of Dara to deprive "Bhai Jive" (Shuja) of Monghyr showing that this part of Bihar was virtually in the hands of Shuja. The treaty of May 1658, Dara's orders for the surrender of his eastern territories to Shuja, and his letter to Shuja after his flight from Agra pledging a partition of the empire, are significant in this connection.

7 A. N. 211; M. A.; Z. N. A. T. S. S.

references to the affairs of Bihar during this period and after are not only too meagre but also confusing and misleading. For instance, besides the names of Allahwardi Khan, the last¹ regular governor of Bihar during the reign of Shahjahan, and Daud Khan Kuraishi, the first of the 11 governors of Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb, different writers have made mention of three other personages, namely Bahadur Khan, (Baqi Beg), Ikhlās Khan (Sheikh Farid) and Nurul Hasan, in connexion with the governorship of this province at this time. One writer² would have us believe that the first two of these were sent at the same time from the Imperial Court to govern Bihar on behalf of Dara to whom the province had been awarded on 22nd³ Rabi I, 1068 or 19th December, 1657. Besides such confusing statements which demand one's attention one has to piece together all the relevant facts, fill up many gaps, and throw much fresh light on some of the dark corners in the history of Bihar not only at this time but during the whole reign of Aurangzeb. The following lines represent an attempt to trace the main course of events that happened during this period in Bihar.

Allahwardi Khan, a panj hazari noble of royal Seljuk⁴ extraction, had been sent to be the governor of Bihar on the 18th Jamadi II 1067⁵ or 25 March 1657, probably, at the recommendation of Dara to whom he was indebted⁶ for many favours. He had hardly been a year in this province when, on hearing the news of his father's illness, which began on the 7th Zihijja⁶ 1067, or Sept. 5, 1657, and being suspicious of the designs of his eldest brother, prince Shuja marched from Rajmahal, his headquarter in Bengal, probably in Safer,⁷ 1068, to Patna on his way to the imperial capital. Instead of offering resistance to the prince⁸ which he perhaps felt himself unable to do Allahwardi Khan left Patna and fell on Benares where he was shortly

1 The author of M. U.

2 S. J. N.; "A. S.

3 Life in M. U. Descent claimed from Sultan Sanjar of Seljuk dynasty.

4 A. N.

5 M. U.

6 A. N.

7 In a letter Murad writes about the expected arrival of Dara at Agra on 29 Sept. and about the army of Shuja having reached Patna. See R. A.

8 M. U. I.

after overtaken and made to join his standard by the princely governor of Bengal. The latter did his best to win his loyalty, made him one of his chief advisers, called him Khan¹ Bhai, and ultimately appointed him his premier noble. But each appears to have remained distrustful of the other. Instead of being restored to his office Allahwardi was made to accompany the prince wherever he went and he "never left his side"². He was present at the battle of Bahadurpur in which Shuja was surprised and defeated by his young and spirited nephew, Sulaiman Shikosh,³ on the 21st of Jamadi 1, 1068, or 15th Feb. 1658. A letter of Aurangzeb refers to the dubious⁴

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Qanungo supplies us with some new facts culled from Jaipur records. There was a race between the uncle and the nephew for Benares. If the former could hold in strength the other side of the Ganges along which ran the military roads via Chunar to Patna and Rajmahal, the imperialist would have been held back. Sulaiman arrived in the neighbourhood of Benares on the 25th January, 1658, but he had to stand on the defensive for over a week and had not matured any definite line of action. Dara wrote to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the chief supporter of his son, "we should urge gokul (Kokalat) Ujjainia, the zamindar of that place, to send his followers and soldiers in all directions and close the roads of supplies and grain to the enemy. A similar force should be sent over to the Benares side for carrying on an irregular fight and closing the enemies roads for supply of food stuffs. Though Kokalat, the Ujjainia chief of Bhojpur, was tempted with an offer of mansab to employ his men for cutting the jungles and stopping the supplies of the enemies it proved a tedious and futile effort which amounted to a surrender to Shuja's waiting game. He felt secure in his well-chosen jungle-clad encampment at Bahadurpur, a village two miles east of the right bank of the railway bridge at Benares, and his war boats which commanded the river in front prevented him from being starved. Mirza Raja, in view of the earlier instructions of Shahjahan appeared to be half hearted. Manuccis view that "he was too prudent to lay his hands on a prince of blood and acted conformably to the Moghul intentions" has been contested by Qanungo who refers to the explicit orders of Shahjahan who had changed his minds when Shuja "inspite of the reasonable offers of the crown prince and the emperor's effectual pardon of his faults had continued his hostile advance". Jai Singh was adopting dilatory tactics and was treating with Shuja and in fact had come to terms with him when the spirited prince Sulaiman, took the matter into his own hands, found a ford, carried his cavalry across the river, took his uncle, who was sleeping till late in the day, unawares, and routed him capturing two crores of Bengal treasure.

⁴ "Az Farebe Allahvardi Khan Az daste Ganwaran Tamam-i Khallqutlah Ra Khrab Sakhta." The expression Lah Khaira Fi Abdeen" apparently refers to the low origin of Allahwardi which is at variance with the statements in Maasirul Umra given above.

conduct of Allahwardi and Masum gives a graphic¹ picture of his ignominious retreat, along with other Omrahs of Shuja, to Patna by the land route to Sasrram and Arwal, while the prince had to make a hurried flight to Patna by boats where he arrived 5 days² later. Shuja being pursued by the imperialists pushed on to Monghyr where being protected by the strong defences, natural and those of his own creation,³ he held out till the adverse circumstances⁴ of Dara compelled him to send urgent letters to his son (and Mirza Raja) to patch up peace with his uncle and hasten⁵ to the west to assist him against the joint forces of Murad and Aurangzeb. The terms of the treaty which was signed in May 1658 were negotiated and settled by Shuja's plenipotentiary, Mirza Jan Beg, and not by Allahwardi and though Monghyr was added to his vice-royalty he was not allowed to reside there but at Rajmahal. In the meanwhile, correspondence⁶ was going on between Murad and Aurangzeb, on the one hand, and Shuja, on the other. According to the official historian Shuja at first felt greatly relieved when he received an imperial farman secured for, and sent to him, by Aurangzeb after the battle of Samugarh and the capture of Agra conferring upon him the whole⁷ of Bihar in addition to his old vice royalty and sent his messenger, Haji Beg, with his congratulations on the victories achieved over Dara. But he soon changed his mind when he learnt of the flight of his eldest brother and his

1 T. S. C. See also Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II.

2 Z. N. A.

3 For details see Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*.

4 *c. g.* battle of Dharmat. Qannungo says "Had Jai Singh shown as much zeal and generalship in the pursuit of Shuja as he afterwards displayed in chasing the fugitive Dara through the Rann of Cutch, the issue of the war of succession would have been totally reversed. But Mirza Raja inspite of most urgent appeal to finish the war with Shuja, was sitting down idly before the fortifications, of Monghyr while Aurangzeb and Murad had united their troops and inflicted a disastrous defeat on Jashwant Singh Rathor at Dharmat on 15th April. On the 15th April the Jaipur Raja must have received with Jubilation the news of the discomfiture of his hated rival at Surajgarh.

5 Qannungo says that the emperor wrote to Mirza Raja to conclude peace with Shuja atonce and to come back to Agra with all his Rajput troops leaving the prince in Bihar with the household troops. But Jai Singh who was a "traitor at heart" wasted many days in holding idle surely peace talks with Mirza Jan Beg.

6 R. A. Edit. by N. A. N.

7 A. N. 216, 223; Z. N. A.; T. S. C.

pursuit by Aurangzeb. He thought that the imperial capital being void¹ of the main armies of the chief contestants for the throne could be easily captured by him. The news that Dara had already issued instruction to his officials in² the east who had charge of Allahabad, Benares, Chunar, Jaunpur and Rohtas to surrender them to Shuja strengthened his resolve to advance to the west. He was also encouraged by some of his councillors³ and also probably by a letter sent by the captive emperor written in "Hindi"⁴ inviting him to hasten to Delhi. After occupying the whole of Bihar and receiving the surrender of Rohtas and Chunar forts from Ram Singh⁵ and Syed Abdul Jalil Barha, officials of Dara, he marched to Allahabad whose custodian Syed Qasim Barha, was also willing to surrender the fort. But he had to face the forces of Aurangzeb. Manucci⁶ does not stand entirely uncorroborated when he says that Allahwardi played the part of a traitor to Shuja at the battle Khajwa which was fought and lost by the latter on the 20th Rabi, 1069, or 6th January, 1659. According to the Italian traveller, the ex-governor of Bihar having received a secret letter from Aurangzeb, sent at the instance of the famous Mirjumla, "resorted to the same tactics as Khalilullah Khan had used with Dara" with the result that Shuja accepting his advice left his elephants, got on a horse, and thus gave a handle to his rival brother to convert his defeat into victory. The Hindi⁷ proverb, quoted by a writer, practically supports the allegation. All his sons⁸ except the youngest had left his side

1 A. N. 224

2 *Ibid.*

3 The author of *Reyaz us Salatin*, a later authority, mentions the name of Allahwardi also in this connection but the contemporary writer, Masum, ascribes such an "evil advice" to Mir Isfandiyar Mamuri Khan Zad Khan who had been wounded at Bahadurpur and captured by Sulaiman but had later managed to escape to Patna where he saw Shuja and induced him to make a bid for the throne.

4 This is evident from a letter of Aurangzeb R. A.

5 A. N. The calculation of the equivalent English dates is slightly different here from that in Sarkar's monumental work.

6 *Storia De Mogore.*

7 Rahtul Arwah, a late 18th century work contains "Thuk Allahwardi Khan Ke Dharhi jis neh Shah Shuja ki Rah bigari". *Reyaz*, quoted by Stewart has, Shuja Jit Bazi Apna Hat Hare.

8 Hasan Ali had left his father at Bahadurpur. He was promoted by Aurangzeb to 2,000 1,500. Jaffer and Ghazanfar.

and joined the imperialists and were favoured by Aurangzeb. Their example was followed by some other prominent¹ men of Bihar but Allahwardi had still to accompany Shuja in his retreat, first to Bahadurpur, then to Patna, and again to Monghyr, and finally to Rajmahal and Bengal. The official historian² gives a detailed account of the plot formed by, and the attempted defection of, Allahwardi at Rajmahal. Shuja got scent of it, had him brought before himself with his youngest son, Saif Khan, and caused both of them to be beheaded on Rajab 25th, 1069, or 9th April, 1659. Thus perished the man the record of whose career in Bihar was as bad as, probably worse than that of his brother,³ who had also held the province in his charge at the end of the reign of Emperor Jahangir.

If Allahwardi was not allowed to get back the government of the province after he had left it at the end of 1657 someone else must have been put in charge of it. Both Dara to whom the province had been given and Shuja who twice occupied the whole of it and who left behind some of his legacies⁴ in parts of Bihar must have made some arrangements for its government. The official historian⁵ of Shahjahan says that when prince Sulaiman Shikoh was sent from Delhi to oppose Shuja on the 4th of Rabi I, 1068 or 11th November 1757 he was accompanied, among others, by Bahadur⁶ Khan and Ikhlas⁷ Khan. Bahadur was promoted to the rank of 4,000 and 3,000 and he was

1 Joined the imperialists after Samu Garh and the former was promoted to 3,000, 1,000, rising still higher and was appointed to Mathura and given the title of Allahwardi Khan. Sanjer and Saifullah, the other sons of Allahwardi, fought at Khajwah with their father, but the former soon deserted him and was at once rewarded with a robe and 3,000 rupees in cash. Another son, Arsalan Ali, was appointed later as Faujdar of Benares.

2 Abdul Maali, son of Mirza Wali and Bulaqui Begam, a daughter of prince Danial, the son of emperor Akbar, has been described as a jagirdar of Bihar who had been forced to join Shuja but deserted him and was favoured with the rank of 3,000 and 1,000. He is the famous Mirza Khan, the faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga.

3 A.N.; Z.A.; T.S.S. See Sarkar's A.37. Mukhlis Khan was the deputy of prince Parwez in Bihar and cut a sorry figure on the advance of prince Shahjahan to Patna see M. A., I. N. J. and also the writer's paper in P. I. H. C. Aligarh.

4 John Marshal's observations,

5 S. J. M.

6 Life in M. U.

7 *Ibid.*

commissioned with the task of governing Bihar as a deputy of Dara and granted 2,000 rupees. Bahadur Khan, however, did not actually stay in Bihar and returned¹ with Prince Sulaiman to the west after the latter had concluded the treaty with his uncle in Shaban, 1068, or May 1658. He appears to have been replaced by Ikhlas Khan who has not been mentioned in the list of those accompanying the prince in his retreat from Bihar. Ikhlas Khan has been definitely described by the court historian of Aurangzeb as "the Subedar² of Patna" who after the events that happened at Akbarabad had come out of Patna and proceeded to the court but was ordered to reinforce Khan-i-Dauran at Allahabad³. The events referred to here are obviously Dara's disastrous defeat at Samugarh on 7th Ramzan or 30th May 1658, his flight from Agra to Delhi and then to Lahore, Aurangzeb's triumphant march to the imperial capital and the virtual captivity of Shahjahan—all of which happened in the first half of Ramzan, 1068. Thus Ikhlas Khan was as nominal a governor of Bihar as Bahadur Khan. He must have thought it advisable to return to the west instead of facing the formidable force of Shuja with his slender resources.

As for the arrangements made by Shah Shuja, Aqil Khan is our only but a reliable authority for taking Nurul Hasan,⁴ a trusted officer of this prince, to have been his nominee for this work. We do not know the exact time when he was placed incharge of the province which had already been offered to, and accepted by Shuja. Probably Nurul Hasan had already been installed as the governor of the province before Shuja marched for the second time from Rajmahal, probably in Zihijja⁵ 1068, or October 1658, to Patna. The prince left Patna in⁶ Safar 1068 and after occupying Rohtas, Benares and Jaunpur advanced to Korah near Allahabad. Aqil Khan definitely says that when Shuja, after being defeated at Khajwa (January 1659) fell back on Benares and decided to oppose prince Muhammad Sultan at Bahadurpur "he received an Arzdasht from Nurul Hasan whom he had exalted with the title of Saif Khan and who was seated on the Masnad⁶ of Patna" informing

1 A. N.

2 A. N. 191 see also M. U.

3 No account in M. U. but frequently referred to A. N.

4 A. N.

5 A. N.

6 Z. N. A.

him of the threat to Patna by the arrival of Fidai Khan from Gorakhpur. Nurul Hasan set fire to the Nawaah or the fleet of the boats on the Ganges so that Fidai Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur, who "having received the imperial orders" had marched along the north bank of the Ganges "and arrived in the vicinity of Patna 8 days before the arrival of Shah Shuja" might not be able to cross the river easily. Shuja hastened to Patna where he arrived on 27 Jamadi² 1069 or February, 1659. But Nurul Hasan's rule over Bihar proved as ephemeral as that of his two nominal predecessors for he must have been forced, along with his master, to leave Patna for Monghyr on the approach of the imperialists. There is definite evidence that he was present with Shuja when the latter had to retreat from Monghyr to Rajmahal. He was left at Rajmahal in the middle of Rajab 1069, or beginning of April,³ 1659, was deputed with a force and artillery to oppose the advance of the imperialist across the Ganges near Suti, but replaced for his failure⁴ by Syed Alam Barha and was again appointed to fight in the battle of Gheria, on the Bhagirathi, on the 1st of Rabi 1070 or Nov. 1659, in which he got four wounds and fled from the battle field. Ultimately Nurul Hasan who has been described as "one⁵ of the great grandees and a pillar of the army of Shuja" scented danger from his master and "was wise and far-sighted" enough," says Md. Kazim, to desert Shuja and join the imperialists. He was favoured with Mansub and office.

When we come to the next governor of Bihar, the first of Aurangzeb's reign, we stand on firmer grounds, for there is plenty of materials about Daud Khan⁶ Quraishi who ruled over the province, with a brief interval, from February 1659 to December 1664. This remarkable man, one of whose ancestors, Sheikh⁷ Md. Razi, an Abbasi Aliavi Sheikh of Mecca, had migrated to Kabul and seen Babar, and another had served as a Kazi in the court of Ibrahim Khan Lodi and whose

1 Life in M. U.

2 A. N.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 Life much too brief in M. U.

7 A family Bayaz quoted by Hafiz Abdul Rauf Saheb in *Maasir, Patna, and Maarif Azamgarh*.

father, Sheikh¹ Bhikan, had been attached to Khanjahan and was killed with him in his fight against prince Shahjahan, belonged to Hissar Firoza. He had himself been introduced to Dara by Azam Khan and rose to be his ablest general and the most faithful follower. He fought for Dara at the battle of Samugarh,² accompanied him in his flight to the Punjab, held the line of Satlaj³ against the enemy, faithfully clung to the company of the unfortunate prince as far as Uch and Bhakhar in Sind, and would have done his level best to avert the fate of his master had not Dara become unjustly suspicious⁴ of him owing to the betrayal of his cause and desertion by so many of his followers, and forced him, despite his protest of innocence, to retire to his home, on the 8th of Moharram, 1069,⁵ or 27 September, 1658. He was much too important a figure to be left out by Aurangzeb who sent him robes of honour on 4th⁶ Rabi 1, 1069 or 21st Nov. 1658. He presented himself before the new Emperor of Delhi on the 7th⁷ of that month and was rewarded with a robe, a sword and mansab. Seven days⁸ after the battle of Khajwa in which he participated he was sent, along with Mirjumla and others, to reinforce prince Muhammad Sultan who had been sent in pursuit of his uncle, Shuja. It was on the 1st of Jamadi⁹ 1, 1069 or 15th January 1659 that Daud Khan received an imperial farman that after reaching Patna he should take charge of the government of the subah. At the same time he received an increase in his rank of 4,000, 3,000 by 1,000 Do Aspa Seh Aspa. He stayed at Patna while Mir Jumla and prince Muhammad, being incharge of operations against Shuja, pursued him to Monghyr.

Shuja was forced by the treachery¹⁰ of Raja Bahroz of Kharagpur and Khaja Kamal,¹¹ the Afghan Zamindar of Birbhoom, on whom he

1 M. U.

2 A. N.

3 *Ibid.* 164, 182, 186 the expression "Dar Guzar i Tallawwun Bud"

4 Storia.

5 A. N.

6 *Ibid.* 221, 231

7 *Ibid.* 269.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.* 286

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid* see also R. S

relied, to a great extent, for his defensive measures, to abandon Monghyr on the 21st Jamadi¹ II or 6th March 1659 and to lose Birbhum before the 12 Rajab² or 27th March. He had to evacuate Rajmahal on the 21st³ and to fall on Tanda. With Tanda as his chief base, and being strongly entrenched all along the eastern bank of the Ganges opposite the entire Mughul front,⁴ stretching from Rajmahal to Suti, Shuja was still a factor to reckon with, particularly because he had an artillery of big pieces manned by the Portugese and the half bred Mesticos, and Mir Jumla felt powerless, owing to the inadequacy of water transport, before the great Bengal flotilla. Once Mir Jumla had to pay heavily for under-estimating the strength of the enemy for his attempt to send his men across the river in 73⁵ well equipped boats which he had gathered failed, on the 19th Shaban or 4th May, entailing much loss of his men. To make the situation worst prince Mhnammad Sultan resenting that he was tied to the apron string of Mir Jumla's authority chose very soon to desert to his uncle to marry the latter's daughter, Gulrukh Banu, already betrothed to him, on the 27th⁶ Ramzan, 1069, or 9th June 1659. The emperor had already realised the gravity of the situation and on the receipt of this news he left his capital for Allahabad to be within easy reach of⁷ Bengal in case anything worse should happen to his forces there. "His foresight⁸ and clear perception of the best thing to be done had already suggested that one of his valorous and self sacrificing officer should cross the river Ganges with his victorious troops and advance towards Tanda, the headquarters of the invulnerable (Shuja) while Muazzam Khan (Mirjumla) who was trying to suppress that mischievous man with his troops from the side of Makhsusabad (Murshidabad) and Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) should continue his efforts for his expulsion from the (right) side of the river so that the ill-fated one should be reduced to severest

1 A. N.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 For details see Sarkar's A III.

5 A. N.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*, Sarkar's A.

8 *Ibid.*

straits from both sides " Daud Khan Quraishi¹ the governor of Bihar, was selected for this task and no better choice could have been made, for it was he, his 5,000² veterans of Bihar, and his fleet of boats which turned the scale of the war finally against Shuja and drove him into the wilderness. The English factors say that "the chief³ hope of the imperialist for an easy success lay in the diversion⁴ attempted by Daud Khan who was incharge of Bihar".

Daud Khan, having received the imperial orders to cross the Ganges wherever he thought proper with his followers and the Auxiliaries of the Suba of Bihar and march (along the north bank of the Ganges) upon Tanda so as assail Shuja's right wing, set out from the city, on the 1st of Ramzan⁵ or 14th May 1659, at the head of 5,000 and with Rasheed⁶ Khan, Hadidad Khan, Qadirdad Khan, Khaja Inayatullah and others, leaving his brother's son Sheikh Md. Hayat,⁷ with 15,000 horse and 2000 foot as his deputy at Patna. But the rains, the many flooded⁸ rivulets and rivers, specially Sarju and Gandak and the various tributaries of the Ganges. and the fact that

1 For Daud's Role in Mirjumla's campaign against Shuja see the very interesting paper, based on a unique work of a contemporary by Professor J. N. Sarkar in Patna University Journal.

2 Aqil Khan and the English factors give this figure

3 E. F. R.

4 According to Professor J. N. S. Daud Khan had received a letter also from Mirjumla, then at Suti, urging him "to recruit men for imperial service to summon rich nobles like Hadi, Abul Maali, Ali Khan, and the Kakoris, to collect as many boats as possible and send them to him immediately against Shuja without being hampered by floods.

5 A. N.

6 Professor J. N. S. writes that the Rozbihani force under Chiragh and Rasheed was sent by Mirjumla and prince Md. Sultan from Dogachi to cross the Kosi. But the official historian includes Rasheed in the list of those who accompanied Daud Khan from Patna.

7 A. N.

8 A. N. As regards the preparation of Daud Khan Professor J. N. S. writes "By appointing his captains to imperial service and giving the soldiers three months pay in advance he soon collected a large force which included two pabalwans of Mehshi (Champan) and Darbhanga and also Kakai and Manquali Afghans. He purchased boats and equipped each of them with guns, cannon and rockets.

the enemy, strengthened by his Nawarah, had set up many defensive lines of entrenchment in Eastern Bihar and his men were ready to oppose any advancing army at many places, slowed his progress. When he reached Qazi Kera, opposite Bhagalpur, he decided to stay there till the rains had ended and the waters of Kosi, Kalinadi and Mahanadi had subsided. He did not leave the vicinity of Bhagalpur and Kahalgaon and resume his march till December 1659. But during this period he had frequently¹ to fight against the Shujaits and, though invariably successful, he was given no rest, specially by the most notable of their leaders Itibar² Khan or Khaja Mishki. It was on the 21st of Rabi to 1070 or³ 27th December 1659 that Daud Khan recrossed the river Ganges (for he had left Kazi Kera and gone to the other side of the river to neutralise the increased activity of the Shujaits in Monghyr, Jehangira, and Bhagalpur owing to their recapture of Rajmahal on the 13th⁴ Zihijja or August 23) and advanced across the Kosi in face of stiff opposition from a Shujaits detachment led by Syed Tajuddin, Jamal Ghorī and Khaja Miski. The enemies were routed and Jamal⁵ was killed. The news of this disasters damped the sprit of Shuja who being encouraged by Mir Jumla's retreat to Murshidabad had opened an offensive which lasted for ten or twelve⁶ days, and he had to give up the plan of crossing the river and fighting the imperialist on their own grounds and beat a retreat to Suti with a view to falling back on Tanda. Shortly after, Mir Jumla received a fresh accession of strength by the arrival of a contingent from the court led by the Dilair Khan. Dilair was able to cross the Ganges with boats supplied by Daud Khan, on the 6th Jamadi⁷ 1, or 10th Jan. 1660 at Kadamtali or Dodha and joined Daud Khan. Daud's son, Sheikh Hamid, had brought 160 boats from Bihar and these were sent to Dodha. The emperor had also sent some money and also artillery. These enabled Mir Jumla to adopt a brilliant⁸ novel plan

1 Professor J. C. S. in P. U. J.

2 *Ibid*

3 A. N.

4 *Ibid*

5 *Ibid*

6 *Ibid*

7 *Ibid* We learn from the Akhbarat that Shaikh Hamid served in the Deccan in the 9th year and was the Faujdar of Shahabad, in Bihar, in the year 25th of the reign or in 1611.

8 Sarkar's A

to attack Shuja from the north-east. Rajmahal was recaptured and put in charge of Rasul Beg as its Thanedar while Raja¹ Kokalat Sahi, the Ujjainia chief of Bhojpur, and Raja Bahroz² of Kharagpur, were appointed thanadar and faujdar respectively of Lodh jungle, Rangamati and Garhi, in fact the whole country upto Monghyr. Syed Naseer-uddin³ Khan was sent to Monghyr to fetch the lacs of rupees kept in the fort thereof. Thereafter, Mir Jumla, with the help of the Bihar boats, carried his army over the biggest of the three streams into which the Ganges was split up near Kadamkali, 9 miles north of Rajmahal, on the 14th Jamadi 1 or 16th January⁴ and he then joined his forces with those of Daud and Dilair. These two personages and Mirza Khan, the faujdar of Darbhanga, were deputed to cross the Mahanadi with their artillery and they succeeded in doing so in the face of stiff resistance from Khaja Miski and Syed Taj Barha. Daud and Dilair occupied Samda which was vacated by the enemies on 1st Jamadi⁵ or 3rd February. Six days after prince Md. Sultan returned to the imperial camp. Though worsted and weakened Shuja continued to make desperate attempts to stop the onrush of the imperialists but the superior force and stratigy⁶ of Mir Jumla compelled him to abandon Mirdapur and then Tanda on the 5th of Shaban or 7th⁷ April, 1660 and flee to Dacca. He was pursued by Mir Jumla, Daud Khan,

1 Kokalat Sahi, already referred to, (F. N. 18) and ignored in the pedigrees, given by both Buchanon and Oldham (Ghazipur Gaz.) of the Dimaron Raj family, was the son of Hardat Sahi and grandson of Chituar Sahi, a younger son of Sangram Sahi. He was very nearly related to Prabal Sahi, the direct ancestor of the present Maharaja of Dumaron, and was recognised as the Raja of Bhojpur by the Moghuls after the death of Raja Pratap Rudra Singh. His headquarters were Basodha and Jagdishpur.

2 Son of Raja Rozafzun and grandson of the famous Rajput Raja Sangram Singh of Kharapur. Bahroz had been promoted to 700, 700 by Shahjahan and he had taken part in Kandhar expedition. Being bribed by Mirjumla he carried the imperial army through the hills and jungles south east of Monghyr fort thus exposing Shuja's rear to his enemy. He rendered valuable services also in the conquest of Palamun and died early in 1076 or 1665. A mosque built by him in Kharakpur with an inscription is still extant.

3 A. N. 534 he brought 14 lacs 50,000 to Mirjumla's camp 545

4 A. N.

5 *Ibid*

6 Sarkar A.

7 A. N., P. U. J.

and others and was forced to flee to Arakan where he ultimately perished.

After the expulsion of Shuja from the imperial territory Daud Khan returned from Bengal to Patna and was busy for sometime with chastising¹ some of the refractory people in the neighbourhood of his capital. But very soon he received imperial orders to march for the subjugation of Palamun for the Cheru² Raja was again in a defiant mood. He set out from Patna on 22nd Shaaban, 1070, or 24th April 1663 with Mirza Khan, the faujdar of Darbhanga,³ Bahadur Khan, the faujdar of Chainpur (Bhabhua in Shahabad district) Raja Bahroz of Kharagpur, Abu Muslim,⁴ Syed Nijabat and his own three nephews, namely Sheikh Tatar, Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Safi. He succeeded in capturing the forts of Kothi on the 5th Ramzan⁵ or 6th May and Kunda⁶ on the 4th Shawwal or 3rd June and halted at Kunda for the rainy season. He resumed his march on the 1st Rabi 1, 1071, or October 25th, 1660, against Raja Pratap⁷, son of Balbhadra, who losing heart repeatedly requested, through his agent⁸, Surat Singh, to let him off by accepting one lac as peshkush for the Sarkar and 50,000 for the governor. Daud Khan was persuaded to stay his hands and he waited for the orders of the emperor. In the meanwhile, the Raja's

¹ *Ibid*

² The dominant clan of the district in the 17th and 18th Centuries were the Cheros, a Dravidian people. They are also said to have branched off from a Rajput tribe. Sarkar's A 106. The Cheros were first compelled by Shaista Khan, a Governor of Bihar, to pay an annual tribute of 80,000 Feb. 12, 1642. Again in 1643 Zabardast Khan compelled the Chero Chief to sue for terms and he was taken to Patna where he offered to pay a sum of 1 lac a year and on the recommendation of Itqad Khan, the next Governor of Bihar, Pratap Rai was made a Commander of 1000 horse and was given Palamun as a military fief on a jama of 2½ laics. But the undertaking was not taken seriously and for 20 years defiance and Cattle lifting raids along the frontier continued. Hence the 3rd invasion of Palamau by Daud Khan.

³ A. N. He succeeded Sazawar Khan on the latter's death in the 31st year of Shahjahan and held the faujdari with a brief interval till his own death in 1074. His successors in Darbhanga and Tirhut were Masum Khan, Nusairi Khan, Masum Khan again, Sazawar Khan, the second time, Sheikh Khan Md. a brother of Daud Khan, Fidai Khan and others. The maithil pandits write all sorts of stories about Mirza Khan

⁴ He succeeded Khaja Nazir, on his death, as the custodian of the famous Rohtas Fort, early in 1075 or 1664, and was entitled Neknam Khan. But he died after 3 or 4 months and was succeeded by Wali Beg Gulabi and others. The earlier custodians of the Fort were Hizabr Khan and his predecessor, was Shah Quli Khan.

⁵ A. N. 450.

⁶ *Ibid* 452.

⁷ See Saxena's S. J.; Sarkar's A, and the writer's paper on Bihar in the time of Shahjahan.

⁸ Pratap also secured the mediation of Raja Bahroz for the acceptance of his offer A. N. 454.

men plundered the grains at a distance of 7 kos from the camp of Daud Khan and, therefore, notwithstanding the profuse excuses put forward by the Raja and immediate despatch by him of 50,000, Daud Khan advanced against him leaving Narsi (Loharsi) where he had halted on¹ the 9th, and marched straight towards the main strongholds of the Cheru Chief. The imperial orders came that if the Raja accepted Islam his peshkush should be accepted and his territories should be restored to him. Before any reply could come from the Raja, Tahawwar Khan got impatient and without consulting Daud Khan delivered his assault on the enemy's stronghold on the 24² Rabi 2 or 18th December. The imperialists had to experience considerable difficulties owing to the dense jungles which had to be cut, the hilly nature of the country, and the strong entrenchment of the enemies equipped by artillery. After many engagements the Cheros were worsted and the Raja's main fort was taken, he himself escaping through a window in the night of 1 Jamadi 1,³ or 23 December. One more attempt was made by the Cheros to maintain their grounds at Deogaun. When this fort was also captured after a brief siege, Daud Khan decided to return to Patna, leaving Mankali⁴ Khan, in accordance with the imperial orders, as the faujdar of Palamun and incharge of its fort. The services of Daud Khan in effecting the conquest of so difficult a country were duly recognised by the emperor who not only sent him a special robe of honour but also ordered an increase in his mansub and conferred upon him a farman granting many bighas of lands in the Gaya district.

The official historian is silent about the activities of Daud Khan from his return to Patna in Jamadi 1 or end of December, 1660, till his transfer to Bengal as its temporary viceroy, sometimes in 1663.⁵

1 A. N. A large Painting on Clothes of the attack on the Palamoon forts by Daud Khan containing 3 pictures of Daud Khan in different positions, measuring 3cft by 12 ft, a detailed description of which was published by Col. Dalton in J. A. S. B., 1874, may still be seen in a faded and damaged condition in Manulal library, Gaya.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Palamun was annexed to the Suba of Bihar. The Raja had, however escaped.

4 He had been appointed faujdar of Saran on 20 Jamadi, 1069 or 4 January 1659. On his appointment to Palamun he was replaced in Saran by Mir Raziuddin who was promoted to 1,500, 800.

5 Mannuci appears to have seen him at Patna before his departure for Dacca early in 1663. He says at one place. "This is the man who was unwilling to foresake the service of Dara, yet was forced to leave it. The prince acted on unfounded

While the emperor was on his way to Kashmir he received the news of the death of Mir Jumla, the conqueror of Assam, which occurred on the 2nd of Ramzan, 1073, or 31 March, 1663, and he "at once sent" orders to Daud Khan that he must proceed to Dacca to take over charge of the province of Bengal until he sent someone else." The English² factors at Patna wrote a letter on 20th April 1663 saying "the Nabab of this place" had got "a letter from Dacca intimating the death of Mir Jumla." But in the letter, addressed by Blake and Bridges to the president of Surat Factory, and dated, November, 1663, they write about Daud Khan as "the present³ nabob" from whom they obtained "a liberty to defer the present of 3,000 rupees annually given in this place (Bengal) and brought to the king's account" Shaista⁴ Khan, the nephew of Nurjahan, and a former Governor of Bihar, had been transferred from the Deccan to Bengal in December 1663 and he actually entered Rajmahal on the 8th⁵ of March 1664. Job Charnock wrote from Patna on the 3rd July 1664 "Dowet⁶ Cawne (Daud Khan) Nabab is returned from Dacca". All this gives us an idea of the duration of Daud Khan's temporary viceroyalty of Bengal. In the absence of any other information to the contrary we may presume that his nephew, Sheikh Muhammed Hayat,⁷ officiated for him in Bihar on this as on the earlier occasion of his absence from Patna. Daud Khan did not stay this time in Bihar for any long time for he had to leave Patna after a few months to take up

suspensions. I went to visit him and he was very delighted to see me remembering that I had been something of a favourite of Dara. He gave me with a set of robes and also a boat. He still retained much affection for the deceased prince, upbraiding the evil fortune that had pursued him. He said to me that if prince Dara was still alive he would never have taken service under Aurangzeb and now that he had accepted employment, he had been sent to govern Patna." It should be, however, remembered that Daud Khan had gone over to Aurangzeb in November 1658 and the end of Dara came about a year later on the 30th August, 1659.

¹ Storia.

² E. F. R. According to the supplement of Fathe Ifria Daud Khan arrived in the vicinity of Dacca on about on 5th Rabi 1072 or Sunday 27th Sept. 1663.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ See the writer's paper contributed to Madras Session of I. H. C. Shaista Khan entered the frontiers of Bengal on 16th Sharban 1074 or 5th March 1664. He reached Akbarnagar or Rajmahal on the 19th Sharban (F. I.)

⁶ E. F. R.

E. F. R.

the subedarship of Khandesh and fight against the Marhattas. We find him presenting himself before the emperor at Delhi on the 8th Rabi 2, 1075 or 20th December 1664. Though later he played important parts in the Deccan wars and held charge of many places such as Khandesh,¹ Berar, Burhanpur, and Allahabad, and seems to have ended his career as a warrior his work in the eastern provinces, specially in Bihar, was the most conspicuous and lasting in results. By his conquest of Palamun he extended the limits of the empire to Chotanagpur and he left enduring monuments of his rule in Bihar. The two mosques erected by him and bearing an inscription, dated 1072, though small, are still extant. The Altamgha grant of 4,000² bighas of lands in paraganas Ancha, Goh and Manaura by an imperial Farman of Aurangzeb and renewed and confirmed by his successors enabled him to lay the foundation of the important town of Daud Nagar in the Gaya District which became a permanent home of his family and descendants. The remains of stately edifices and carvansarai built by Daud Khan and his successors can still be traced. It is significant that Tavernier writes about his having halted on the 18th December 1665 at "Daudnagar Sarai" where he found "a fine tomb". A stone slab still preserved in Khajakalan police station of Patna City and containing a Persian inscription³ commemorates the regime of this strong and just governor of Bihar. It indicates the site of the Darul-Adal or court of justice which was built by one, Jaffer Khan, who calls himself a servant of Daud Khan. A renovation

¹ A. N.

² M. U. and A. N., the emperor praised Daud Khan in open Court on 21st April, 1670, Akhbaratts (Sarkar's ms) M. A.

³ The Farman of Md. Shah to the family refers to this "Daud Khan Shahid Ke Ba Jange Sultani Ba Kar Amdah" Unfortunately the year of his death could not be ascertained.

⁴ The chronogram giving the date is "Halia Daud Khan Islam Kard" 1072.

⁵ Hafiz Abdur Rauf Saheb in his paper on Daud Khan in Maarif, Azamgarh, 1937, has given the text of 8 farmans granted to Daud Khan and his family, one of which, issued in the 25 year of Muhammad Shah's, reign, gives this figure and purports to be a renewal of earlier farmans. Aurangzeb's farman, granted on 22 Rajab 1069 confirms the earlier farman of Dara, dated 12 Sbaban, 1067, conferring 1,000 bighas of land in Hisar on Daud Khan.

⁶ Travels of Tavernier.

⁷ See the paper of late Mr. Syed Mohammad on Patna Monuments J. B. O. R. S. The relevant line runs thus "Bahr-e-Adal O Dad e Mazluman-ze-daste Zaliman Sakht Darul Adal Jaffer Banda-e Daud Khan."

of this building which, unfortunately, does not exist now was the work of Nawab Fakhruddaullah, a governor of Bihar, during the time of Muhammed Shah.

1 Seyrul-Mutakherin. Fakhrud-Dowla's inscription may still be seen in the wall of the Khaja Kalan Kotwali.

MIR JUMLA'S OVERSEAS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, PATNA COLLEGE, PATNA.

Absorbed as Mir Jumla was in his political ambitions, he never lost sight of commerce, the perennial source of his wealth, prosperity and power. From slight beginnings the volume of his commerce, internal and external, swelled to a mighty stream by the end of 1650. Early in January 1651 Mir Jumla had 4,000 horses, 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels, and 10,000 oxen, which used to transport his goods to several countries like Golkunda and Bijapur and even into different regions of the Mughal Empire. Everywhere he had his agents and merchants stationed. Moreover, he had trading relations with

- (i) Burma—Arrakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim (Mergui Archipelago),
- (ii) Acheen, Peruk, Macassar and the Maldives,
- (iii) Persia and Arabia,
- (iv) Bengal.

His mercantile marine then consisted of 10 ships and he gradually increased their number by building more ships, especially at Narsapur in the East coast. There a junk of 800 tons had been built in July 1638 for being sent to Persia or Mocha and it was referred to in factory correspondence as the "great" junk of the Sar i Khail.¹

Unwilling to employ Vijaynagar sailors, who might have played him false, Mir Jumla asked the European Companies, both the English and Dutch, to lend him pilots and sailors for navigating his junks, *viz.* Roger Adams (1642), Richard Walwyn (1647), John Gayton (1646),

1 For range of trade Report of Walter Littleton and Venkanta Brahman (Jan. 17, 1651) in Love, *Vestiges of Madras* I. 100. Foster, *English Factories in India* 1651-4; p. 12; for shipbuilding, FEF 1637-41, pp. 79-80, 168, 1642-4 pp. 88, 55.

Peruk was to the South of Queda in Malay Peninsula and subject to the king of Acheen. Bowrey, 260n, 275n.

Thomas Bostock (1650).¹ There were some Muslim pilots also for example, Muhammad Beg in charge of the *Mubarak Tukli*, sailing to Pegu, Nakhuda Nura, sailing to Acheen, Nakhuda Mulla Hasan Ali sailing to Gombroon.²

In spite of his growing mercantile marine, Mir Jumla suffered from naval weakness. Though in 1651, the Sultan of Golkunda and Mir Jumla ceased to ask the Portuguese for passport for their vessels, yet during the siege of Madras (Sept. 1657—April, 1658), the English were asked to give "passes" (passports) for Mir Jumla's sea-going junks. But they refused.³

Mir Jumla wanted to get a share in the profitable trade with Burma. It was the home of "perfect Rubies and Sapphires", prized in different parts of the world. Its gumlack was the finest quality and superior to Indian lac. Martavan jars, some gold, copper, tin quicksilver, *ganza* (bellmetal) and benzoin were also available there.⁴ As minister in Golkunda he sent Hassan Khan to Pegu to open commercial relations with its ruler, famous as "the Lord of White Elephants". Subsequently the Mir asked the latter to permit Muhammad Beg, the captain of a Golkunda ship, to trade annually with his own ships to Pegu.⁵ Mir Jumla sometimes employed English private traders (*e. g.* Richard Cogan in 1647) to conduct commercial operations on his behalf to Pegu, which were more profitable than those of the English. Mir Jumla's junks laden with his own freightgoods sailed regularly from Masulipatam to Pegu, while his servants and agents used to constantly journey to and from Pegu, sometimes on Dutch ships (*e. g.* 1653). The political disorders in Pegu due to the invasion of the Chinese adversely affected the trade of Mir Jumla as well as of Dutch about 1651. About 1653 the King of Pegu prohibited the sale of tin and tusks to strangers and the exports of *ganza* and organised

1 FEF. 1637-41, pp. 76-77, 51n, 56n, 255; Dutch sailors. in FEF. 1642-45, pp. 69, 81, 234; 1646-50, pp. 98, 139, 273; Dutch pilot, 1651-54, pp. 256-7, 268-9.

2 Tabrezi, 147b; FEF 1637-41, pp. 167-8 and n; 260, 71.

3 Danvers II. 301 (Portuguese) leave I. 192 J.B.R.S. XXVII. 110-111.

4 Hall, 87 ff; Purchas v. 1004; Moreland, *Relations of the Kingdom of Golkonda*, FEF. 1622-23. p. 338; 1634-6, pp. 16, 146; 1637-41, p. 94; Bowrey, 290, 275n.

5 Mir Jumla's letter to the Wazir of Pegu, Tabrezi, 147b.

guards on the way to Martaban to implement his orders.¹

Arrakan was famous for wild elephants. Mir Jumla prayed to Dharmaraja, the Raja of Arrakan for grant of trade facilities to his men. At his special entreaty, the Raja released from prison seven Iraklis suspected to be Shahjahan's agents. He also requested the Raja to release several Mughals long imprisoned in Arrakan and to grant free trade facilities so that Arrakan might be the meeting place of traders from different lands. Mir Jumla purchased 4 elephants sent by the Raja to the East Coast and received one as a reward.²

In return for the East Coast calicoes, Mir Jumla probably procured the spices of the East Indies, slaves and rice from Macassar, tin from Peruk and cowry from the Maldives.³

Persia figured prominently in his commercial enterprises. Every year he used to send a large quantity of goods in his junks of all sizes from the East Coast of India to Persia. Other ships were not allowed to load themselves till those of Mir Jumla, the "all ruling Sar i Khail or Vizier" were filled up. His power and influence as the minister of Golkunda enabled him to utilize the ships of the English E. I. Company also in transporting his articles (*e. g.* sugar in 1637 and '40) to Persia without paying any freight and any customs. In 1651-2 Mir Jumla's junk reached Gombroom via Gwador on the Makran coast and about 200 *tumans* were remitted as the Company's share of

1 Cogan affair, FEF. 1646-50, pp. 98-99, 198; 1651-4, pp. 260, 263; 206-7 (using Dutch ships), 19. Mir Jumla secured the release of Richard Cogan, when the latter was imprisoned by the English Agent of Madras.

Burma was under the Toungoo dynasty (1551-1740). After 1628 the monachy became weak and Upper Burma was twice overrun by the Ming and Manchu Chinese and five times by the Manipuris. Encylo. Brit (14th ed.) IV. 430.

2 For Arrakan trade, Bowrey, 73, 245n, 222; *Continuation* 153a, *Sarkar Aurangzeb's reign*. For Mir Jumla's 2 letters to the Raja, and proposal to send Kamran Beg, Tabrezi, 148a, 149a. Probably the 23rd king of Arrakan, Tsan da thu damma (acc. 1652) is referred to here as Dharmaraja. vide Capt. A. P. Phayr's article, "On the History of Arrakan" in JASB XIII (1844). 23-52.

Tenasserim was also famous for elephants, Bowrey, 73, 179, 245n (customs taken).

3 For Acheen trade FE F. 1637-41, pp. 167-8n; Bowrey 288-9; for Bantam and Macassar F E F. 1651-54, pp. 99, 290-1; Bowrey 291 (slaves). Macassar was a free port and ships paid no customs, Tavernier I pt. II 91. For Peruk, Bowrey, 283n, 252n, 267n, 280n; for Maldives, *ibid* 104, 79.

customs due on his goods from Masulipatam. In 1653 the Gombroon factors apprehended troubles if the landing and transporting customs-free of two bales of Mir Jumla's goods became known to the Shahbundar, as the latter claimed the right to open bales, suspected to belong to "the Moors". But they were advised by the Madras factors that if they were "to continue in this country", they must not deny the privilege and must be prepared to suffer in case of denial. The practice of sending goods customs free continued when Mir Jumla became the Governor of Bengal.

Mir Jumla regularly sent his junks to Mokha, piloted by Englishmen in 1642, 1646, and 1647².

Through his commercial activities Mir Jumla the Persian became one of the principal inneritors of the maritime trade of the Vijaynagar Empire with Arrakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago, and with Persia and Arabia. In the 16th century the Portuguese had displaced the Arabs as the carriers of that trade. During the first half of the 17th century Mir Jumla endeavoured to step into the void, created by the decline of the Vijaynagar empire and the Portuguese. The situation was favourable, as the English trade had not been securely established and as there was acute rivalry between the Dutch and the English, each trying to outbid the other in securing the favours of the Mir. Mir Jumla also became a keen competitor of the English E. I. Company especially in the Burmese and Persian trade. The English not finding any opportunity of getting freight on goods sent from Masulipatam to Persia, endeavoured not to lose any freight in the Bay of Bengal ports. They also endeavoured to prevent the extension of his commercial ascendancy in Pegu and the Burmese waters.³

1 FE F 1637-41, pp. 30 n, 260, 71 (freight free); 1642-5, pp. 88, 67, 207-8 (customs free), 55; 1651-4, pp. 262, 220-22; for remission, 1651-54, pp. 67, 117-118, 125-26; Shahbundar's strictness, *ibid*, 157 and n. 206; also Hague tr. series 1, Vol. 18, no. 549 in *ibid*; opinion of Madras factors, *ibid* 228, 282; opinion of Surat factors, *ibid* 256-257, 268-9.

2 FEF. 1642-45, pp. 69, 81, 234; 1646-50. pp. 98, 139, (*the Darya Daulat*); for Mokha trade, Bowrey 103, 132n. 245n.

3 Vijaynagar trade in Ramanyya, *Studies in the history of the Third Dynasty of Vijaynagar*, ch X; *Vijaynagar Sexcentenary commemoration Volume* 220-24; commercial position of the English in India, Proc. IHC (1939); competition with the English, FE F. 1637-41, pp. 79-80; 16 42-45 pp. 88, 55, 67; 1646-50, pp. 98-99, 198.

MANU ON COLONIZATION.

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Manu, the great Political thinker of Ancient India, laid down in unmistakable terms the duty of a conqueror towards the conquered. The colonial government was to be based on the principles of self-government and the right of self-determination. Manu observes, "Having ascertained the wishes of all the people to install a member of the same royal family on the throne and then conclude a treaty."¹

The first duty of the conqueror was to hold a plebiscite. The government of the conquered territory was to be formed by the verdict of the people's vote. The conqueror was not to enforce a particular type of government, against the wishes of the people. No attempt was to be made to destroy the political and economic activities of the conquered. There was not to be any dictated peace but there was to be a treaty as between two equals. The newly constituted government was given the treaty-making power and thus its sovereignty was recognised.

Me¹hatiti in his commentary has given an instance of the treaty. The two parties according to him were to have equal shares in the treasury and when one was afflicted by chance the other was to come to his help with men and money. The treaty was in the nature of a mutual assistance pact.

The duties of a conqueror did not end there. He was not to ignore the legal validities of the old religion, customs and laws of the colonial country. He was to honour the new sovereign, along with the elites of the place with jewels.² The treatment towards the conquered people was not one of hatred. Fraternization was not prohibited. The conquered people were loved and not hated. This shows the high standard of civilization of the people. War was treated as a sport and the victors felt no necessity for despising or oppressing the vanquished.

¹ Manu VIII 202.

² *Ibid* VIII 203.

The conqueror having set up a government according to the wishes of the people and having recognised its sovereignty, was to quit the defeated country. Manu says, " Though safe, fertile, conducive to the growth of cattle and herds should be quitted by a king without any consideration for his self."¹ This was a clear order 'to quit'. Personal or Imperial interests were not to stand on the way. Manu was aware of the causes which instigated a conqueror to continue his domination. Colonies were best fitted for production of raw materials and its supply to the mother country. Colonies being safe, were best grounds for military preparation and army manouvers. Manu did not allow a conqueror to prolong its occupation of a country, for his own selfish ends. He was aware of the trick of the Imperialist in making the insecure condition in the colony a good ground for continued occupation. We have already seen that Manu ordered a conqueror to hand over the reigns of government to the chosen representative of the people. The form and the persons to govern the colony were to be selected by the people concerned. The Imperial power was not to interfere with the nature of government. The safety and security of the colonies both internal and external was the responsibility of the colonial people. The conqueror had no moral right to interfere with the internal policies of the colony. His duty was finished after handing over the administration to the elected representative of the people. After this his stay any longer was unjustified and unmoral. His next course was to quit the colony. Manu knew no compromise in this respect and the conqueror according to him, had no justification whatsoever to remain in the colony.

¹ *Ibid* VII 212.

DECLINE OF THE VEDIC RELIGION. (C. 800-500 B. C.)

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The historical study of the different religions of the world is inspiring and elevating. There are differences of opinion as to the true nature of the Vedic religion. But even the acutest critic testifies to the growth of cosmological speculations and pantheistic and even monotheistic conceptions towards the end of the Saṁhitā period. Sir Radhakrishnan and some other philosophical savants see in *ānīdāvā-tam sordhayā tadekaṁ tasmāddhānyanna paraḥ kiñchanāsa*, Rv. X. 129.2, a forecast of the Vedantic Absolute and the inscrutable Māyā-Śakti. The seers of the Upaniṣads inherited the philosophical legacy of the Saṁhitā period as is clear from phrases like *ṛchābhyuktam*. But the Vedic Religion had also a practical ritualistic side. This tradition was extended and carried to a logical finish in the Brahmaṇas.

Anthropologists and Ethnologists trace in the Vedic Religion an amalgam of different religious conceptions of different races. The Rigveda represents the religion of the autochthonous 'Aryans. The Atharvaveda shows a stage when the Aryans were in contact with the other Easterners. The legacy of the Indus valley people—the Proto-Australoids, the Mediterraneans, the Mongoloids was also there. It seems to be clear hence that the religion prevalent in India from C. 2000 B. C. to 1000 B. C. was a complex structure. Because it was influenced by different races, it can be easily understood that other racial movements also in their turn could change it.²

We hold opinions, different from the prevalent one, as regards the true interpretation of Vedic texts. These shall be indicated in

1 Swami Dayananda : *Satyārthaprakāśa*.

2 Historical parallels—changes in Buddhism due to Hellenic contact and changes in Israelite religion due to Semitic—Babylonian and Zoroastrian—Persian contact.

further researches. We shall confine ourselves in this article to a historical analysis of the various factors which led to the decline of the Vedic Religion.

The Brāhmaṇas, the exegetical literature concerning the Vedic sacrifices, carried to great extremes the ritualistic details. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains the story of the sacrifice of Śuraḥśēpa. The Śatapatha is a monumental classic of science of the sacrifice, far more detailed than the Babylonian liturgy. The Israelite and Phœnician religions also contained sacrificial traits. There are vital differences between the Vedic and the West Asiatic systems of sacrifice. But sacrifice, as the supreme concern of human life, was cultivated only in the period of the Brāhmaṇas. The interpretations of Mahīdhara point out that the Vedic texts of Yajurveda were interpreted to support violently horrible practices. Violence and slaughter characterized the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa period. The Kuṭa-danta Sutra of the Digha Nikāya contains testimony for this. The Rock Edict I of Aśoka contains prohibitions of animal slaughter. Hence there appears to be a twofold cause of the reaction against the sacrificial system—(1) Its complication and mechanisation were bound to evoke rationalistic¹ and philosophical criticisms. (2) Its violence was bound to lead to an ethical and pietistic revolt. As times showed the Upaniṣads heralded the intellectual protest, and the ethical humanitarian ground of reaction was prepared by the great sage of the clan of the Sakyas.

The speculative tendency is uppermost in the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣadic spritualistic Monistic Absolute was the supracosmic parallel of the psychic Ātman. According to Western notions this is the culmination of subjective religion, because the soul is carried to the highest immanental and transcendental levels. The various deities who might have been worshipped by the people then, *i. e.* in the Upaniṣads, as is clear from the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, are the imperfect manifestations of the Absolute. The conception of the Absolute is the death of all religions², provided we exclude from the contents of religions the deepest and highest mystical

¹ Rationalism not in the Kantian sense, but in the Voltairian and the French enlightenment philosophical sense.

² Hegel : *Philosophy of Religion*, Vols. I and II. Caird : *Evolution of Religion*. Vol. I, pp.316-376.

vision. Religion or *upāsana* as Śāṅkara says proceeds on the duality of the worshipper and the worshipped. The monistic idealistic teaching demonstrates that even the creator cosmic God is an inferior impermanent reality. The Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad contains a distinction between the God of religions (the third stage of consciousness), and the Absolute of mysticism (the fourth stage of consciousness).¹ The doctrines of Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya are a severe challenge to all objective religious conceptions

Hence the popular objective foundations of the Vedic Religion were sought to be destroyed by the Upaniṣads. The various *devalokas* were all subordinated to the non-spatial psychic Brahmaloka. A new hypothesis may here be pointed out. The various opinions of the various Upaniṣadic teachers as to the location of the Absolute in the sun, moon, Vidyut, etc., may be actual historical references in the sense that these deities might have been worshipped then as supreme deities. The Brahmajala Sutta of Digha Nikāya contains allusions to a such worship. Instead of supporting the popular religious notions and practices, as has been done for Christianity in the Middle Ages by scholastic philosophers the Upaniṣads carried an indirect revolt against all objective religious practices.

They also protested against the aristocracy of birth. Highest knowledge of spirituality was being imparted to Satyama of low birth. Hence the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas, which is so prominent in the Brāhmaṇa texts, in so far as they even claimed exemption from royal control, was undermined. The Vedantic knowledge is stated to have descended from the Kṣatriyas to the Brāhmaṇas. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali the Kṣatriya imparts education to both Śvetketu and his father Uddālaka Āruṇi.

The Upaniṣads tried to minimise the importance of Yajña in a twofold way (1) The Muṇḍaka outspokenly derides the ritualistic system as futile and as being preached by the ignorant people² (2) Sometimes they show that study and meditation are the highest kind of Yajña. At time the pure life is conceived as Yajña, as in the Orphic and the Pythagorean Sects. Thus the ritualistic sacrifice is substituted by intellectual sacrifice.

¹ Ranade : Upanishadic Survey.

² Cf. the intellectual protest of Heraclitus against Greek religious sacrifice. Plato emphasises intellectual contemplation of the Ideas.

The attitude of the Upaniṣads towards the Vedas in one of compromise. As is clear from the Muṇḍaka and from the speech of Sanat-kumāra, the Vedas were given an honoured place, though not accepted as the final word for emancipation. But anyhow the traditions of Vedic scholarship were continued in the various residences of the Upaniṣadic Āchāryas and their *antevāsins*. These centres were economically very potent, as is clear from the munificent offerings to Raikva and Yājñavalkya. If in the case of the later Buddhistic religion it is argued that the economic prosperity of the Vihāras was a corrupting influence, if in the case of Christianity it is argued that the growing secularisation and wealth of the church was a factor of clerical decline necessitating various monastic reforms, it may be probable that the Vedic religion too would have suffered a decline due to the enervating influence of the economically efficient Vedic scholarship centres and affluent priesthood. There is a tone of sarcasm in the statement of Yājñavalkya, गीकामा एव वयम् (which may be called eudaemonistic ethics)

The Upaniṣads thus attacked the strongholds of Vedic religion. Another attack came from the Sophistic and Ethical movements of the 7th and 6th century B.C. Just as Socrates and his successors Plato and Aristotle attacked the Greek religion and wanted to set up an ethical and idealistic standard, so also Lord Buddha tried to establish his Aryan truths on the inalienable foundation of a very profound concern for human miseries.¹ Lord Buddha wanted to remove the sufferings of the masses not by carrying on a wholesale political and economic revolution, but by providing the psychological remedy of a deep unconcern for the world and its allurements. He wanted the eradication of *trṣṇā* and the destruction of the five *upādānaskandhas*. The teachings of Lord Buddha may have been absolutistic and idealistic,² being constructed on the background of the Upaniṣadic metaphysics, but so far as the Tripitakas and their actual teachings are concerned the doctrines of Nirvāṇa, Anatmanism, (cp. to Hume and James)³ dynamic nature of the transitory world characterised by the Pratītya-samutpāda were in no way favourable to the Vedic religion. Lord Buddha did not carry on an open crusade against the Vedic savants and their cherished

¹ But Lord Buddha greatly exceeded them in influencing the masses.

² Radhakrishnan: Hibbert Journal, April 1934.

³ According to Stcherbatsky, Buddhism is a Psychology without a soul.

beliefs and dogmas. He tried to ennoble the prevalent violent sacrificial system. He provided for sacrifice of grains, etc., and tried to moralise the sacrifices like the Hebrew Prophets by giving the highest importance to ethical acts. He countered the contemporary renowned scholars of Brāhmaṇism on a threefold platform: (1) He severely challenged the claim of attainment of unity with Brahman (m.) of the Brahmins. He derided the search after Brahman as a futile endeavour. He propounded that neither the Ṛṣis nor their ancestors up to the seventh in ascending order had a glimpse of Brahman. He condemned the invocation of gods and the enchanted songs sung in their praise at the time of sacrifices. (2) He claimed that he preached the way to supracosmic vision, to supreme knowledge and to Nirvāṇa. It is mentioned in the Upaniṣads and even in the Rīgveda that the supreme end of human life is not study or reflection, but self-realisation. Lord Buddha always claimed to have been the realised and enlightened Arhat and Tathāgata. The Brahmanic scholars paled into insignificance due to the supernatural powers and prowess manifested by the Lord. Further, the Lord Buddha was a keen dialectician and debator and it was very difficult to pull on with him. (3) The Lord Buddha hit at the gross worldliness of the contemporary Brahmin scholars and priests. Even the king Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit were struck with the purity and holy living of the Buddhist monks and their austere meditations continued lifelong as distinguished from the small duration of the Brahmācārya of the other religious systems.

The teachings of Lord Buddha were in consonance with the teachings of the Veda and Upaniṣads in the ethical spirit, although ethics were greatly preponderant in his system. As contradistinguished from him were the grossly materialistic and hedonistic Cārvākas, the nihilistic and deterministic teachers like Kaccāyana, Kesakambala, Gosāla, and the Relativists Mahāvira, Belatthaputta, and some others. These had absolutely no connexion with the Vedic religion. The Cārvākas derided the Vedic texts as works of cheats. Gosāla's determinism meant the fruitlessness of all actions, vicious or virtuous. This meant a challenge to the Brāhmaṇical claim of good actions being the equipments for heaven.

1 Stcherbatsky—Radical Pluralism of Early Buddhism. Rosenberg contends that early Buddhism was illusionism. (Reference: Stcherbatsky: Central Conception of Buddhism).

According to the Upaniṣads actions constitute the essence of a man and survive him as Yājñavalkya narrated to Jāratkāra.

Ajit Kesakambala denied charity sacrifices and oblations to fire. He denied the existence of a hereafter. The Vedic and the Upaniṣadic thoughts accept a hereafter, be it in the sense of an emancipated transcendental state or a heaven of the popular conception. Ajit condemned deities, ridiculed the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas who claimed to have realised the truth and in the spirit of utter materialism he reduced the human existence to the four elements.¹

Pūrṇa Kāśyapa's doctrines, grossest epicureanism, were entirely destructive of Vedic and Upaniṣadic ethics.

Prakruddha Kaccāyana taught the existence of seven groups—Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Happiness, Misery and Life. The maintenance of life shows Kaccāyana was not materialistic. He advances to the vitalistic conception in the Bergsonian spirit. Of course, vitalism is greatly enunciated in the Upaniṣads (cf. the supremacy of the Prāṇas over senses and the elements) and in the Taittirīya (प्राण ब्रह्म).

The sceptical and problematic doctrines of Sañjaya are comparable to the *syādavāda* of the Jainas and are based on a conception of the manifold nature of Reality according to them. It is to be seen that the Upaniṣads and the Vedic sacrificial formulæ inculcate the notion of faith as vitally essential for success in the domain of spiritual wisdom.

The final flower of this reactionary and sophistical movement was seen in the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra. The substitution of an omniscient God by powerful omniscient Tīrthaṅkaras, and the scheme of evolution of the world essentially different from Vedic and Upaniṣadic cosmology show that Jain tenets are antithetical to the traditional system. Besides the Brahmanical sacrificial mechanism, Upaniṣadic Absolutism, Buddhist and the contemporary Rationalism, another source of attack against the Vedic religion came from the Sāṃkhyas.

Sir Radhakrishnan is of opinion that in its original form the Śāṃkhya may have been a metaphysic of the Viśiṣṭādvaita type. In its classic form of a realistic dualism the Śāṃkhya is anti-Vedic in the sense that it tries to construct a system of evolution instead of accepting

¹ Ajit lays the foundation of a popular materialistic philosophy, different from the ideas of Haeckel.

the existence of a supracosmic creative agency as accepted in the form of Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati in the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. As distinguished from the Buddhists, the Sāṃkhya accepted the validity of the Veda as a Pramāṇa and is anxious to establish its Vedic origin, a claim which has been seriously challenged by Śaṅkara.¹ We have tried to show in an article that the Śāṃkhya system of thought had a Vedic origin and developed alongside with the Upaniṣads and was a potent factor for the rise of Buddhism.² But the Śāṃkhya-Kārika is very critical about Vedic sacrifices and calls them impure.³ These are the views of the Śāṃkhya. It regards, not sacrificial works, but discriminative knowledge, as the true means to liberation.

The exponents of the Vedic religion and custodians of Brahmanic worship tried to refute the charges of the Śāṃkhya, but this is outside our scope.

1 Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on Vedānta Sūtra 2.2.10.

2 On the origin of the Śāṃkhya, articles to be published in the near future.

3 'Nor are the Vedas eternal, since they possess the character of effects..... simply because the Vedas are not of personal origin, we cannot infer that they are eternal, because a sprout is not eternal although it has not a personal origin.'

"The Samkhya, however, never openly opposed the Vedas but adopts the more deadly process of sapping their foundation."

(Radhak, Indian Ph. II, p. 301, 302).

A NOTE ON ADMIRAL WATSON.

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Not long after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English and the French entered into another period of conflicts as allies of the rival candidates for succession to the Subahdarship of the Deccan and the Nawabship of the Carnatic. A contemporary, Edward Ives, tells us that "the French had a far superior number of European troops, and had been so artful as to form connections with the most powerful princes in the country; with these advantages, they made so considerable a progress, as greatly to alarm the whole of the English settlements and to fill them with apprehensions, lest the day might have come, when Mons. Dupleix's ambition might be gratified in its utmost extent".¹ Even after Dupleix's recall, the prospect of success of the negotiations carried on between the English and French East India Companies, for a convention with a view to "restoring union between them and putting an end to the troubles on the Coast of Coromandel"², was uncertain. As a matter of fact, the English apprehended a quick recrudescence of hostilities with the French.³ The respective settlements of the English East India Company in India, therefore, "sent repeated accounts of their disagreeable situation"⁴ to the Court of Directors in England, who in their turn "petitioned"⁵ His Majesty's Government for military help to safeguard the Company's interests in India.

In response to this appeal, His Majesty "was most graciously pleased to order a Squadron of his ships with a body of land forces on

1 Edward Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, p. 2.

2 Court's letter to Bengal, 2nd March, 1754, para, 17.

4 Vide my paper on *The Court of Directors' Instructions to the Council in Calcutta in view of the strained Anglo-French Relations, 1755-56*, published in *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, 1945.

4 Ives, op. cit, p. 2.

5 Ibid.

board to proceed to the East Indies to protect the Company in their commerce and their just Rights and Privileges.”¹ The Squadron commanded by Charles Watson, Rear Admiral of the Blue, was composed of the following:²

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Kent.	Henry Speke	64 (70 according to Ives)
Eagle	George Pocok	60
Salisbury	Thomas Knowler	50
Bristol	Thomas Latham	50
Bridgewater	William Martin	24
Sloop Kingfisher	Best Mighel	16

The ‘land forces’, placed under the command of Colonel John Adlercron, included 815 ‘Men officers’ of his regiment of infantry and a detachment from the Royal Train of Artillery of 78 Men officers, the latter being under the command of Lieutenant William Hislop.³

Although the first destination of the Squadron and the land forces was the Coromandel Coast,⁴ yet considering that they may have occasions to be present at times at other settlements of the English, the Court of Directors sent the following instructions to the Council in Calcutta on the 2nd March, 1754, for dealing with those troops: ⁵

“Upon the Anchoring or Arrival of Rear Admiral Watson at your Presidency or any of the Company’s Settlements We Direct that he be saluted with 15 Guns which he will return Gun for Gun and in case the Commodore who wears a distinguishing Pennant shall arrive at any of our Settlements when the Admiral is not there he is to be Saluted with 13 Guns who will likewise return Gun for Gun, and that you pay him all the Honours due to his Rank and behave to him on all occasions with great regard and Friendship and as you are to Behave with all Civility and Respect to the several Commanders belonging to his Majesty’s Squadron so you are to give them as well as the Admiral all necessary Help and Assistance.

1 *Ibid.*

2 Court’s letter to Bengal, 2nd March, 1754, para. 2.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, para 3.

5 *Ibid.*, para 5.

You are hereby directed to allow to Admiral Wattson after the rate of 40.s a day Sterling which we desire his acceptance of to defray the Expenses of House Rent and for keeping a Table for himself and such Commanders and Officers as he shall think proper which allowance is to commence on his arrival upon the Coromandel Coast and continued during his stay in India and is to be in full consideration for all expenses whatsoever.

As His Majesty's Ships will be in want of stores, provisions and necessarys during their stay in India you are hereby directed to Furnish Admiral Watson or any of his Majesty's Commanders with such sums of money as they shall require you to advance for those Purposes for which you are to take Bills of Exchange drawn by the Admiral Commander or proper officers for the amount of the sums so advanced at the rate of six shillings and six pence pr. Weighty Dollr. for the stores on the Commissrs of the Navy and for Provisions on the Commissrs for Victualling the same payable to us in Money at 30 Days sight taking four Bills of the same tenour and transmitting them to us by different Ships.

And you are hereby positively directed to adjust all Accounts any way relative to the Squadron with the proper Officers and procure Bills as beforementioned for what shall appear due to the Company for the Ballance of such Accounts, or at least let them be so authentically certified that we may not be put to the Trouble of Litigating such Accounts in England which we too frequently were to our great Loss in the late War.

What we have here said with regard to supplying His Majesty's Ships with Money, Stores, Provisions and necessarys and adjusting Accounts with the proper Officers must be the Rule you are to observe with respect of all Accounts relative to his Majestys Land Forces (if they shall happen to come to your Presidency) and Bills are to be drawn at the same rate of 6s. 6d. pr. Weighty Dollr. upon the Board of Ordnance or such other of his Majestys Officers in England Whose Province it is to discharge such Bills or adjust such Accounts.

You are to carry it with great respect to Colll. Adlercron and you are to treat all the officers of His Majesty's Forces in a Gentleman-like and Friendly manner and take the utmost care to promote and

Cultivate a good Understanding between the Kings and our own Forces.

You are to make an Allowance to Col. Adlercron after the rate of 40s. a day sterling which we desire his acceptance of to defray the Expence of House Rent and for keeping a Table for himself, the Lieutt., Col., Major and such other Officers as he shall think proper which allowance is to commence on his arrival upon the Coromandel Coast and be continued during his stay in India and is to be in full consideration of all Expences whatsoever, our meaning being that you are to pay the same for the time of his residence in Bengal.

As it would be a Discouragement to His Majesty's Forces to serve at Less Pay than our own we have agreed at our own Expence to make good to them the difference, You are therefore to pay out of our Cash on the Companys Account to the Officers and Soldiers of the Regiment under Col. Adlercron after the following Rates Vizt.

			s.	d.	
To the Captain of each Company.	..	..	2.	0	a day
Lieutt.	..	..	1	0	
Ensign	..	..	1	0	
Sergeants	..	..	0	2	each
Corporals	..	..	0	2	do.
Drummers	..	..	0	2	
Private men	..	..	0	2	
And to the Adjutant to the Regiment.	..	..	1	0	a day

You are likewise to Pay on the Companys Account the under-mentioned additional allowances to the Officers Cadets and Gunners of the detachment from the Royal Regiment of Artillery Vizt

			s	d	
1 First Lieutenant.	..	..	1	0	pr. Diem
1 Second Do.	..	..	1	0	
3 Lieutt. Fireworkers.	..	..	0	8	each
Gentlemen Cadets and Gunners.	..	..	0	2	each

You are to observe what we said before that the beforementioned allowances are only to put His Majesty's Forces with respect to Pay upon the same footing as our own, and you are further to observe that no Advanced pay is to be allowed to any other Persons than as before directed.

You must take care that the said Forces are properly accommodated with Barracks or Places to live in during their Residence with you, and in general that they be treated with Humanity and as much care taken of them as of our own, and you are likewise to provide Convenient Magazines and Places for His Majesty's Stores so as they may be in the custody and care of their own proper Officers''.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

1. Tarkatāṇḍava of Śrī-Vyāsatīrtha with the Nyāyadīpa of Śrī-Rāghavendrātīrtha, Vol. IV. Edited by Vidvan V. Madhvachar. University of Mysore, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series 82. Mysore, 1943.

With the publication of this volume the Tarkatāṇḍava together with its commentary, the Nyāyadīpa, is completed. The Tarkatāṇḍava is an important work of Logic of Madhva's school and discusses the sources of knowledge (*pramāṇa*), viz., *pratyakṣa*, *śabda*, and *anumāna*, as subservient to the establishment of Madhva's tenets. The author Vyāsatīrtha, a famous teacher of the school, died in 1339. The commentator Rāghavendrātīrtha, another famous teacher, is the author of a number of works dealing with Madhva's philosophy and religious views. Both the text and the commentary have been carefully edited and beautifully printed. A few printing mistakes have been pointed out at the end. Indexes of authors, works and passages cited, which will be found very helpful, are appended.

2. Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa with the commentary Kāśikā of Sucharitamīśra, Part III. Edited by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M. A. University of Travancore: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CL. Trivandrum, 1943.

This third part of the Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika with Sucharitamīśra's commentary is enriched with two elaborate introductions, one in English and the other in Sanskrit, one supplementing the other. The Sanskrit introduction mainly deals with the doctrinal differences between the Bhāṭṭa and the Prābhākara school, while the English one presents a critical account of the main currents of thought in the Śābarabhāṣya and the Śloka-vārtika in the early portions of the Tarkapāda up to I. 1. 5. Besides these introductions, which should prove very helpful, there are five appendices and a list of *errata*. The volume appears to be carefully edited and fairly well printed, although the quality of the paper can hardly be praised.

3. The Mahābhārata. Edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar.
 Fascicule 12
 Aranyakaparvan (2). Pp. 513—1111, I—XLIII. 1942. Poona: Bhandarkar
 Oriental Institute.

4. The Mahābhārata. Edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar † and
 S. K. Belvelkar. ^{Sabhāparvan}
 Ed. Edgerton. Fascicules 13 (1943) and 14 (1944).
 Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

These three fascicules of the great work started by the late Dr. Sukthankar maintain intact the standard of critical accuracy exhibited by the previous ones and deserve no less the words of appreciation and admiration expressed by various scholars on the latter. The critical method, as laid down in the Prolegomena, has been rigidly pursued and the care for accuracy in printing no less than in settling the ur-text upon the evidence of the materials cannot indeed be too highly praised. Some notable omissions in this critical edition of some widely popular episodes will be a surprise to, and no doubt missed by, many who have been familiar with the Mahābhārata from other editions and vernacular versions, but they are none-the-less the result of the application of the strictest principles of text-criticism ever brought to play on any other Sanskrit work. These are, in the Āranyakaparvan: (1) the temptation of Arjuna by Urvaśī, (2) Karṇa's conquest of the world, and (3) the visit of Durvāsas to Yudhiṣṭhira; and in the Sabhāparvan: (1) Draupadī's prayer to Kṛṣṇa, when Duṣśāsana was stripping off her garments. A remarkable pointer towards the date of the ur-text of this edition is the occurrence in Sabhāparvan 2.28.49 of the word Romā for Rome, which, as Prof. Edgerton has pointed out, would indicate it to have been settled about the first century B. C. or a century or two later.

T. Chowdhury.

5. Ranjit Singh, by Dr. N. K. Sinha, M. A. Ph. D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta university. Second edition, 1945. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 7 only.

The first edition of this book was published twelve years ago, and at that time it was welcomed as a distinct improvement on Lepel Griffin's well-known memoir on the Lion of the Punjab. Griffin's work has some serious defects as it is not based on a thorough examination of the available materials in different languages. So Dr. Sinha was well-advised to take up 'a re-examination of the old

materials and a study of the unpublished papers in the Imperial Record Department.' The results of his labours were embodied in a well-documented and stimulating monograph, which has now grown into a fairly big book. He modestly hopes that in the revised and enlarged second edition 'the presentation has gained in smoothness'. It has also gained in authenticity and exhaustiveness. In its present shape it is very likely to remain the standard work on the subject for many years to come. Indeed, it will be difficult for any other scholar to challenge Dr. Sinha's conclusion unless fresh materials of decisive value are discovered.

The second edition of Dr. Sinha's work gives us, for the first time, an exhaustive and authoritative account of Ranjit Singh's early career. One of the disputed points settled, probably finally, relates to Ranjit Singh's occupation of Lahore. His relations with the Afghans—an obscure and complicated subject—has been dealt with clearly and convincingly, and an excellent map illustrates his north-western campaigns. The chapter on Anglo-Sikh relations during the period 1809-39 is specially interesting because it explodes the myth of Ranjit Singh's unalloyed loyalty to the British alliance. We get a glimpse into the Sikh King's secret relations with the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, the Marathas—even with the far off Burmese. Our only regret is that Dr. Sinha could not throw more light on this very interesting subject owing to the paucity of materials. The book concludes with admirable chapters on Ranjit Singh's civil administration, military organization, European officers, chiefs and favourites, and his personality. Of the Appendices the most interesting is the critical note on Shah Shuja in Lahore., The bioliography gives an exhaustive and critical account of all the available sources in Persian and English.

The Publishers are to be congratulated on the excellent get-up of the book.

6. Dutch activities in the East by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, M. A. (Cal.), D. Lett and Phil (leiden,) pp. VII—XX. 1—81. Published by the Book Emporium Ltd., Calcutta, 1945. Price Rupees Four only.

Our knowledge with regard to the activities of the Dutch in India and the East is still inadequate, and there are few published

works on this subject. In this volume, Dr. Ray has edited with introduction some documents which, in his opinion, are "unpublished works of Danvers, and perhaps even unknown to and unutilised by scholars in the field (IX)". These throw some additional light on the various phases of Dutch policy in the East during the 17th century, and have been studied by the learned editor with ample care and scrutiny. Proclamation of the States General, dated the 26th November, 1609, provided for the appointment of a Governor-General and Council to look after the affairs of the Dutch in the East Indies. It is interesting to read how Article 10 of this Proclamation contained following definite instructions for the Governor-General regarding the Dutch Company's foreign policy. "You will enquire particularly into the relations with all Kings Princes, and nations of all India with whom the Company is treading, so as to know whether these are friendly and favourable, or otherwise disposed, and why, and for what purpose each and every one of them is so disposed towards the Company. You will further enquire who are the actual rulers of affairs in the different States of India, and what are the best means of entering into close relations with them * * * (pp. 7-8)". It is indeed inaccurate to say that the European trading Companies came to be concerned about Indian political affairs only in the 18th century and were quite unmindful of them in the 17th.

In Appendix I we get a carefully drawn up and chronologically arranged statement of important events connected with the Dutch in the East Indies during the 18th and 19th centuries, and Appendix II contains a list of the Governors-General of Netherlands India from 1609 to 1895 with dates of respective incumbency.

Dr. Ray deserves our congratulation for this useful publication. Its printing and get-up are good.

K. K. Datta.

श्रीहरिचरणसेनविरचिता

पर्यायमुक्तावली

श्रीहरिचरणसेनविरचिता
पर्यायमुक्तावली

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Work and its Author.*

The Paryāyamuktāvalī, popularly known as the Mukṭāvalī, is an important Nighaṇṭu or synonymous medical lexicon, of which there are so few that have come down to us. The accompanying index of words will show that it contains a large number of words that do not appear in any other single lexicon, besides some that are actually rare. As acknowledged in Introductory verse 2, it is based on the Paryāyaratnamālā of Mādhavakara, from which it has taken many verses and half-verses without any appreciable alteration. But it has rearranged the matter into a number of homogeneous sections, called *vargas*, and replenished it with much that is altogether new. Even the sections on homonyms and *māna* of the older book have not been discarded. But all words that are not specifically names of *dravyas* or *materia medica* (in a very wide sense, indeed) have been excluded. These two works are very popular among the Vaidyas of Manbhum and of the neighbouring districts of Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan, but unfortunately notices of the Mss of the Paryāyamuktāvalī in the printed catalogues are rare. As a matter of fact, I have so far seen only one, *viz.* that in the Notices of Sanskrit Mss by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. IV. p. 118. Its indebtedness to Amara, hinted at in the concluding verse, is especially conspicuous in the last two *vargas*.

The name of the author is Haricharaṇasena, but as no references to him or to the work could so far be traced, his date will, for the present at least, remain uncertain. As, however, the Mss. of the work are almost invariably found written in the Bengali script and the work itself is assiduously studied in certain Bengali speaking districts to the exclusion of other districts (as far as our present knowledge goes) it may reasonably be assumed that he, like his predecessor Mādhavakara, was a native of Bengal. His name also lends support to this conclusion, the surname Sena being particularly common amongst the Vaidyas of Bengal. That our F and G come from Orissa does not go against this assumption, inasmuch as the above-mentioned districts are contiguous to Orissa and have a record of constant intercourse with it in the past as well as the present.

2. *Contents of the Work.*

The work is divided into the following twenty-three sections, each headed by a summary of its contents: (1) Sugandhivarga, (2) Madhyagandhavarga, (3) Hīnagandhavarga, (4) Sārajavarga, (5) Ratnavarga, (6) Dhātūpadhātuvarga, (7) Madhuravarga, (8) Amlavarga, (9) Uttamaśākavarga, (10) Tiktaśākavarga, (11) Puṣpavarga, (12) Latāphalavarga, (13) Kandavarga, (14) Mahāvṛkṣavarga, (15) Madhyamavṛkṣavarga, (16) Hrasvavṛkṣavarga, (17) Latāvarga, (18) Śimbīśūkadhānyavarga, (19) Tṛṇadhānyavarga, (20) Kṛtānnavarga, (21) Pāṇiyavarga, (22) Āvaśyakavarga, and (23) Bhautikādivarga. Each group of synonyms is presented either in a full or a half śloka. The Bengali names found attached to them in the Mss. are retained, as they will presumably be found useful for the purpose of identification.

3. *Materials for the Text.*

The present text is based on a collation of the following materials:

A. Found at Garhjaipur, Manbhum. 12"×4½". Folia 25. Written in 1258 Sāl (=A. C. 1851-52). Generally correct. Ends with the twenty-first *varga*.

B. Found with Kavirāj Bihārīlāl Rāy of Madhutaṭī, Manbhum. Beautifully written, but mostly incorrect. Written in 1280 Sāl (=A. C. 1873-74) at Bhāmuriā, Manbhum. Also ends with the twenty-first *varga*.

C. Found with Kavirāj Satīś-chandra Rāy of Tiluri, Bankura. Incomplete, wanting the first folium and ending in the middle of the sixteenth *varga*. Appears to have been written by one who knew his subject.

D. A printed book in Bengali character, entitled Mukṭāvalī and published by Adhar-chandra Chakravartī, containing a major portion of the text with many additions, alterations and omissions. The publisher does not profess to give the text of the Paryāyamukṭāvalī as it is, but has used it as a basis for a Dravyaguṇābhīdhāna. It has accordingly been used with due caution.

E. Found with Kavirāj Jagadānanda Rāy of Sōdpur, Burdwan. 16"×4½". Folia 1-12. It begins with the first and ends with the fifteenth section. It lacks the introductory verses. No date or name of the scribe. It is carefully and correctly written and agrees

with A in most respects, even in that of omissions, but is generally more correct.

F. A printed book in Oriya character, edited by Maheṣvara Miśra and published by Dāsarathi Dāsa. First impression: Cuttack, 1935. Pp. 45. It agrees closely with the Mss. There are genuine mistakes like those in the Mss., but no certain proof of any tampering with the text. Complete.

G. Another printed book in the same character, edited by Ajay-kumār Ghoṣ and published by Jagannātha Siṁha. Third impression: Cuttack, 1941. As in D, the text has been so much tampered with by means of additions and alterations (except in the initial verses) that it could be safely used only as corroborative evidence. After the twentieth *varga* and a few select verses of the twenty-first and the twenty-second, it ends with a Saṁkhyāvarga—explanatory of the numbered groups such as *kṣāratraya* or *pañcamūli*—which is not found in any of the rest.

H. $16\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Folia 12. Lines 15 or 16 on a page. Written for personal use by Beṇīmādhav Baski. Sakābdāḥ 1792 (=A.C. 1870)).

I. Book-size, $5\frac{3}{8}'' \times 8\frac{9}{16}''$. Folia 21 (pp. 42). Lines 26 on a page. Written for personal use by Anantalāl Rāy of Madhutaṭī, Manbhum. San 1289 (=A.C. 1882).

Both H and I were kindly lent me by Kavirāj Nalinākṣa Sen of Bākuliā, Bankura, practising at Asansol, Burdwan. They both end with the twenty-first *varga* and agree throughout almost *in toto*, so that in the foot-notes (except in a very few instances) H will represent both. I, however, is by no means a copy of H, because it sometimes has better readings and contains here and there texts that are absent from H. They are found very often also to agree with A and E.

Vś. The Vaidyakaśabdasindhu of Umeśa-chandra Gupta made use of the Paryāyamuktāvalī and has been very helpful in giving the version of the Ms. or Mss. used by the author.

4. Some Linguistic and Other Peculiarities of the Text.

A few solecisms are noticed in *pañchachatvarīṁśadgaṇaiḥ* 3.66, *chaturviṁśatiparyāyaiḥ* 6.55, *chaturviṁśatibhiḥ* . . . *paryāyaiḥ* 4.19, etc. and in *tat* site 4.19. *Turya* has been used in the sense of four in *turyāḍhaka* and *turyāpala* in the last *varga*. *Imaiḥ* (Intro. v. 13

and 5.25) for *ebhiḥ*, although uncommon, is supported by high authorities like Jumarānandin (Sāṁkṣiptasāra 6.332), Rāmātarkavāgīśa (Mugdhābodha 208) and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Vṛnda 20.28). In a few cases the text has remained doubtful, e.g. *drākṣa* 3.46, *śuklākṣī* 3.52, *dvaipaka* 7.9, *toyādhika* 8.19, *dantaśuddhi* 15.28, etc. In 13.1 and 13.14 the author has given terms for *muṣalī* that are elsewhere used only for *bhūmyāmalakī* (due to the confusion caused by both having the same name *tālī* ?). There are a few cases of phonetic confusion which are so persistent in their appearance as *variae lectiones* in the whole Āyurvedic literature that both the forms of a pair have had to be admitted into the Dictionaries. Such, for instance, are a few cases of metathesis: *jīvaka*: *vījaka* 14.2, 42, *damanaka*: *madanaka* 11.35, *māreṣṭa*: *rāmeṣṭa* 1.20, etc., and a few others of graphic confusion: *mechaka*: *mochaka* 9.23, *rāṭha*: *rācha* 3.63, *vakra*: *chakra* 3.35, etc. There is one glaring instance of metrical offence in 12.4 (where the author apparently read the last syllable of *paṭola* as *laghu* although it is followed by a conjunct sound *jyo-*), besides a few other minor ones in Śloka verses.

5. Acknowledgment of help received.

Finally, my grateful thanks are due to all the above-mentioned gentlemen whose Mss. or publications have been of service to me and to Mr. Sham Bahadur, the Honorary General Secretary of the Bihar Research Society for his kind permission to use Mss. A and B, which are now owned by the Society. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not thankfully mention the service rendered by Mr. Damarudhar Das, Principal, Puri Sanskrit College, and Mr. Golok-bihari Dhal of the Sixth Year Sanskrit Class, Patna College, who spared no pains in procuring F and G for my use.

T. CHOWDHURY.

Abbreviations: Am.=Amarakoṣa. Bh.=Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu. Dh.=Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu. Kk.=Kalpadrukoṣa. Kn.=Kaiyadevanighaṇṭu. Mn.=Madanapālanighaṇṭu. Mukṭā.=Paryāyamukṭāvalī. MW.=Monier-Williams. R.=Rājani-ghaṇṭu. Ratna.=Paryayāratnamālā. ŚK.=Śabdakalpadruma. Su.=Suśruta. V.=Vaijayanti. Vn.=Vajdyakanighaṇṭu.

श्रीहरिचरणसेनविरचिता पर्यायमुक्तावली

[मङ्गला वरणम्]

ब्रह्मेन्द्रादित्रिदशपरिषन्मौलिमन्दारमाला—
बालार्कशुप्रतिसम^१रजोराजिताङ्घ्रिद्वयश्रीः ।
श्रीमल्लीलार्त्ततिधरशिरोदेशसवेशहृष्टः
कृष्णो जीयादखिलजगती^२शर्मकर्मैकहेतुः^३ ॥

[ग्रन्थनिबन्धः]

- 5 पूर्वं लोकहिताय माधवकराभिख्यो^४ भिषक् केवलं
कोषान्वेषणतत्परः प्रवितता^५युर्वेदरत्नाकरात् ।
मालां रत्नमयीं चकार स यथालाभं समुद्धृत्य यां^६
सास्माभिः कमनीयभक्तिरचनाद्वारान्यथा^७ प्रथ्यते ॥
उत्तमगुणपरिणद्धा^८ सौन्दर्या^९दप्यबोधतिमिरघ्नी ।
10 सम्प्रति सुधियां हृदये विलसतु पर्यायमुक्तावली ॥
श्रेष्ठस्तोत्रविहीनगन्धलसिकारत्नाष्ट^{१०}धात्वादभिः
स्वाद्वमोत्तमतिक्तशाकसुमनोवल्लीफलाङ्घ्रियुद्भवैः^{११} ।
उच्चैर्मध्यमह्रस्वपादपलताधान्यद्वया^{१२}भ्रादिकैः
पानावश्यकभौतिकादिभिरिमै^{१३}वर्गैः क्रमाश्रणयेत्^{१४} ॥

[प्रथमः सुगन्धिवर्गः]

कपूरागुरुगन्धसारसरलस्थौरेय^{१५}देवाह्वयै—
श्रातुर्जातकदैत्यकुङ्कुमजटाकक्कोलजातीफलैः ।

^१D. प्रसृमर. ^२D. नीलः. G. नील-. ^३D. जगतां. ^४F. has बहिष्णवर्हापीडः शुशिरपरो बाणवद्धभो गोष्ठे । मेदुरमुदिररयामलरुचिरव्याघ्रे गोविन्दः ॥ in place of ब्रह्मेन्द्रादि... ^५A. B. रोमिशो. ^६B. प्रतिरता. ^७D. न शोभाधिका. F. G. शोभाधिया-. ^८A. दारान्मियो. B. दचकादोरञ्जितो. ^९D. न्यासा. ^{१०}A. B. रत्नोकार्या. ^{११}D. रत्नैः सु. ^{१२}A. B. द्वयैः. ^{१३}A. B. त्वया. ^{१४}D. विकरसैः ^{१५}D. निर्दयः ^{१६}B. स्तौलेयः.

कस्तूरीकपिपूतिगन्धिगिरिजश्रीवेष्टनीराम्बुजै—

अथडा'कोपलपङ्ककुन्दुरुनखैरुक्तः सुगन्धिर्गणः ॥

5 घनसारश्च कपूरं सोमसंज्ञं सिताभ्रकम् ।

भृङ्गारपत्रं^१ मिहिका शाम्भवो हिमवालुका ॥ कपूरं ।

कृत्रिमश्चीनकपूरो नलद^२श्चन्द्रकः कटुः^३ । चूटकपूरं ।

अगरुः^४भृङ्गजं कृष्णं लोहाख्यं लघु जोङ्गकर्म^५ ॥ अगरु ।

कृष्णागरुः स्याद् वसुकं मङ्गल्यं विश्वरूपकम् । कृष्णागरु ।

10 भद्रसारं मलयजं गन्धसारश्च चन्दनम् ॥ सामान्यचन्दनं^६ ।

चन्द्रकान्तश्च गोशीर्षं श्रीखण्डं भोगिवल्लभम् । श्रीखण्डचन्दनम् ।

भद्रश्रीः सोमयोनिश्च महाहं श्वेतचन्दनम् ॥ श्वेतचन्दनम् ।

पीतसारं सुशीतश्च बर्बरं हरिचन्दनम् । हरिचन्दनम् ।

कालीयकश्च^८ कालेयं गन्धवासं हरिप्रियम् ॥ कृष्णचन्दनं^९ ।

15 पीतदारु मनोज्ञश्च^{१०} सरलो भद्रदारु च । सरलकाष्ठ ।

स्थौलेयकं^{११} ग्रन्थिपर्णं कुशपुष्पश्च ग्रन्थिकर्म^{१२} ॥ गेठाला ।

सुरदारु द्रुकिलिमं^{१३} सुराहं भद्रदारु च ।

देवकाष्ठश्च पीतद्रु देवदारु च दारु च ॥ देवदारु ।

त्वक्पत्रैलं त्रिजातं स्याच्चतुर्जातं^{१५} सकेशरम् । चातुर्जातम् ।

20 भृङ्गं वराङ्गं रामेष्टं^{१६} विज्वलं^{१७} त्वचमुत्कटम् ॥ गुडत्वक् ।

पलवालुकमैलेयं सुगन्धि हरिवालुकम् । गन्धवालुका^{१८} ।

वस्त्राख्यं^{१९} पावनं^{२०} पत्रं तेजपत्रं तमालकम् ॥ तेजपत्रम् ।

एला च बहुला शूलाला मालेया^{२१} ताडकाफलम्^{२२} । एलाइच ।

वयस्था तीक्ष्णगन्धा च सूक्ष्मैला द्राविडा^{२३} त्रुटिः ॥ लुद्र एलाइच ।

25 द्विपः सर्पः सुवर्णाह्नि^{२४} आम्पेयो^{२५} नागकेशरः । नागेश्वर ।

इति चातुर्जातकम् ।

गन्धिनी तालपर्णी तु दैत्या गन्धकुटी सुरा ॥ सुरामांसी ।

^१F.G.अथडी. ^२D.पत्रा. ^३F.जङ्गल. G. दवज ^४B. पटु. ^५B.अगरु. ^६A.जोङ्गक. D.E. जोङ्गक. ^७A.शाम्भवाचन्दन. ^८D.कृष्णचन्दन. ^९After this D.has रक्तचन्दनं रत्नं रत्नाङ्गं पुद्रचन्दनम् । तिष्ठपत्रं रक्तसारं सामसारश्च बोधितम् ॥, but see 3.61,62. ^{१०}D.अ. ^{११}B.स्थौलेयकं. ^{१२}B.पुष्पीकं. F.G.गुल्फकं. ^{१३}A.किञ्चिन्मु B.किञ्चिन् F.G. द्रु किञ्चिमं. ^{१४}F. omits this line ^{१५}B. चातुर्जातं. ^{१६}A.वामेस्तं. E. मारेष्टं. F.G. रामेष्टं. ^{१७}A. विज्वलं. D. विज्वलं. ^{१८}D.has एला...after नागकेशर. The appearance of the line here is suspicious, but all the rest of our authorities agree in this respect. ^{१९}B. रत्नाङ्गं. D. वत्ताङ्गं. F. वस्त्राङ्गं. ^{२०}A. E. पारयं. D. पत्रिकं. F. गोपयं. ^{२१}B.-चं. ^{२२}F. कजा ^{२३}D.-डिस. ^{२४}A.B.-ङ्ग. ^{२५}B. चाम्पको.

- कारमीरजं कुकुमश्च बाह्यीकं शोणिताह्वयम् ॥ कुकुम ।
 नलदं^१ नन्दिनी पेयी^२ मांसी ३कृष्णजटा जटी ।
 किरातिनी च जटिला लोमशा^४ तु तपस्विनी ॥ जटामांसी^५ ।
 30 लघुमांसी भूतजटाकाशमांसी^६ पिशाचिका । आकाशमांसी^७ ।
 कक्षोलकं कोषफलं कोलकं मालवोद्भवम् ॥ कक्षोल ।
 जातीफलं मज्जसारं शालूकं^८ सुमनःफलम् । जायफलं^९ ।
 मृगनाभि मृ गमदो मदः कस्तूरिकाण्डजा^{१०} ॥ कस्तूरी ।
 श्यामा तित्ता पूतिमुख्या^{११} लतिका गन्धचेलिका^{१२} ॥ लताकस्तुरी ।
 35 कपिनामा कपितैलं कृत्रिमं कपिश^{१३}श्वलः ।
 तुरष्को युक्तियुक्तश्च^{१४} पिण्डितः^{१५} सिंहको^{१६} रसः ॥ शीलारस ।
 पूतिगन्धिवः पूतिकट्या तिर्यग्जा^{१७}मिषगन्धिनी । खट्याशी
 (E. F. G. पूतनी) ।
 शैलाख्यं शैलजं वृद्धं सुभगं गिरिपुष्पकम् ॥ शैलज ।
 तैलपर्णी दधिश्रृगालः^{१८} पिण्याको रक्तशीर्षकः ।
 40 वेष्टो^{१९} रसाहः श्रीवासः श्रीपिष्टः सरलो रसः ॥ लवणखोटि ।
 कर्पूरतैलं पर्णारिं^{२०} जलाह्वं मकरन्दजम् । तैलजपानि ।
 पद्मकाष्ठं पीतकाष्ठं कैदारं पद्मसंज्ञितम् ॥ पद्मकाष्ठ ।
 तस्करश्चोरकश्चण्डा^{२१} पृष्ठा देवी लता लघुः । पिङ्ग ।
 जातिकोषं जातिपत्रं सुमनःपत्रिकाऽपि च ॥ जायपत्री^{२२} ।
 45 लवङ्गं देवकुसुमं श्रीसंज्ञं कलिकोत्तमम् ।
 शृङ्गारं शुषिरं^{२३} तीक्ष्णं वारिजं शेखरं लवम् ॥ लवङ्ग ।
 पालिन्दः^{२४} शिखिकुन्दुः^{२५} रथान्मकुन्दुः^{२६} कुन्दु कुन्दुरः । कुन्दुरखोटि ।
 करजाख्यश्चाश्वखुरो नखो व्याघ्रनखो नखी ॥ नखी ।
 नखोऽप्यः स्याच्छङ्खनखः^{२७}कूटस्थश्चक्रनाथः^{२८} । नखीभेद ।

^१D.-दा. ^२B. पेयी. ^३C.E. कृष्णा. ^४A. E. सा सु. ^५D. has after this : आकाशमांसी शेवाली सूक्ष्मपत्री लसम्भवा । गौरी पर्वतवासिनी चाभूमांसी निराक्षमा ॥ Cf. R., s.v. आकाशमांसी. ^६D. भूतवेशी. ^७D. गन्धमांसी. ^८A. C. सालूरं. B. सालूकं. D. शालूरं. ^९D. has after this : जातीकोषं जातीपत्रं सुमनःपत्रिकापि च । ^{१०}A. B. D. कस्तु. C. कस्तूरी ^{११}A. B. E. पीत. F. G. पीतमुखी. ^{१२}D. वेष्टिका. ^{१३}B.C. पिक. ^{१४}D. युक्तियुक्त. ^{१५}B.C. पी. E. पिण्डित. ^{१६}A. शी-. D. सिंहको. E. शि-. ^{१७}B. C. गा. ^{१८}A. आषो. B. साङ्गो. D. भद्रा ^{१९}A. B. विष्टो. ^{२०}A. H. वानीर्व (र ?). B. पङ्गीरं. C. पङ्गीरं. F.G. पङ्गीरं. ^{२१}F.G. अण्डा. ^{२२}C. रसवास. B. केचित्त्वह्नि. D. omits जाति. here. ^{२३}A. B.C. शुषिरं. ^{२४}D.-न्दः. ^{२५}B. D. E. शिखिकुन्दः. ^{२६}D. मुकुन्दुः. ^{२७}A.B.C.D. कु. ^{२८}D. नामकः.

- 50 श्रेष्ठगन्धस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्पर्यायै व्याहृतो गणः^१ ॥
इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां कपूर्वादिसुगन्धवर्गः प्रथमः ॥१॥

[द्वितीयो मध्यगन्धवर्गः]

- जाराजमोदामधुरायमानी-व्योषाम्बुदोशीरकचोरकुष्ठैः ।
शताह्वमालातृणधान्यमेथी-वचाभिरुक्ताः किल मध्यगन्धाः ॥
अजाजी जीरणं^२ जीरं मागधं जीरकं सितम् । बड़जीरा ।
हृद्यगन्धं सुगन्धं च द्वितीयं कणजीरकम् ॥ जीरा ।
- 5 कारवी जीरकं कृष्णं पृथ्वीका^३ चोपकुञ्चिका । कृष्णजीरा ।
कालोपकुञ्चिका तत्र सूक्ष्मे^४ तु सुषवी^५ पृथुः ॥ क्षुद्रकालजीराभेद ।
अजमोदातृणगन्धा ब्रह्मदर्भाजगन्धिका । अजमोदा ।
अचाकूपुष्पी तु छत्रा^६ स्यान्मङ्गल्या मधुरा मिषी^७ ॥ मउरि ।
यमानी दीप्यका दीप्यो भूतिकश्च यमानिका^८ । यमानी ।
- 10 त्रिकटु व्यूषणं व्योषं कृष्णामरिचनागरैः ॥ त्रिकटु ।
ऊषणा पिप्पली शौण्डी^९ वैदेही मागधी कणा ।
कृष्णोपकुल्या मागध्या^{१०} कोला स्यात्तीक्ष्णतण्डुला ॥ पिप्पली ।
वेङ्गनं^{११} मरिचं कृष्णमूषणं^{१२} धर्मपत्तनम् । मरिच ।
शुण्ठी महौषधं विश्वं नागरं विश्वभेषजम् ॥ शुण्ठी ।
- 15 मेघाख्यं मुस्तकं मुस्तं बालेयं परिपेलवम् । मुथा^{१३} ॥
गाङ्गेयं कुरुविन्दश्च^{१४} भद्रमुस्तं कुटन्न^{१५} ॥ गङ्गामुथा^{१६} ।
उशीरमभयं सेव्यं लामज्जकमृणालकम्^{१७} । गन्धवेणा ।
वितानमूलं^{१८} विरणं^{१९} वीरं वीरतरं तथा ॥ पानिउसिर ।
जीमूतमूलं कक्षोरं पलाशा^{२०} हिमजा शठी^{२१} । गन्धशठी ।
- 20 कवूरको^{२२} द्राघिडकः काल्पको^{२३} वेधमुख्यकः^{२४} ॥ शठीभेद ।
कैटर्गश्चोरकः शुण्ठी क्षुद्रः^{२५} श्वेताश्वत्थामकः । घोडाशुण्ठी ॥
व्याधिः कुष्ठं पारिभात्यं वाप्यं^{२६} पाकलं^{२७} मुत्पलम् ॥ कुङ् ।

^१D. चत्वारिंशच्छ्रेष्ठगन्धः पर्यायैराहृतो गणः. F. G. श्रेष्ठगन्धश्च षट्त्रिंश. ^२C. D. E. जरय. ^३C. E. पृथ्वीका. ^४D. मनोज्ञा. ^५A. सुसुरी. B. सुसिर. E. सुष्ठ. ^६A. B. C. छत्र. ^७B. मिसी. ^८A. यमोदिका. D. has यमानी. after अजमोदा. ^९A. शौण्डी B. सुण्ठी. E. शौण्डी. ^{१०}C. D. मागधा. ^{११}A. E. वेङ्गनं. B. विङ्गनं. F. वेङ्गण. ^{१२}A. C. D. E. कृष्णं सु(A. म्)पयं. C. मोसनं. ^{१३}B. धन. C. मव. ^{१४}D. विश्व. ^{१५}D. ब्रह्म. ^{१६}A. E. गाङ्ग. B. नागर. ^{१७}A. E. जस. ^{१८}B. वितान. C. विजाय. ^{१९}D. वी. ^{२०}B. पलासि. D. कशुरं पलाशो. ^{२१}F. G. शठी. ^{२२}C. D. वृ. ^{२३}A. चापको. B. F. G. कल्पको. ^{२४}A. B. E. वेद. ^{२५}E. श्वे. ^{२६}F. G. व्याप्य. ^{२७}A. पाकल. C. पाकव.

- पुष्करं पौष्करं कुष्ठं^१मूलं स्याद् ब्रह्मतीर्थकम् । पुष्करमूल ।
शताह्वा शतपुष्पाख्या त्वतिच्छत्रा च कारवी ॥ शुल्फा ।
25 ग्रन्थिकं^२ गन्धखेट^३श्च मालातृणकभूस्तृणे । गन्धमात्री ।
कुस्तुम्बुरु च धन्याकं वेपणोमा^४ वितानकम्^५ ॥ धनिचा ।
मेथिका मदनी मेथी गन्ध^६बीजा च कैरवी^७ ।
वज्जरी^८ चन्द्रिका मण्डा मित्रपुष्पा^९ च वेधसी^{१०} ॥ मेथी ।
तीक्ष्णोष्णगन्धा जटिला मङ्गल्या विजया वचा ।
30 षड्ग्रन्थोमा च रक्षोघ्नी सिता^{११} हैमवती च सा ॥ वच ।
मेथ्या षड्ग्रन्थिका श्वेता वचा स्याद् दीर्घपत्रिका । शुक्रवच ।
कुलिञ्जो गन्धमूलश्च तीक्ष्णगन्धश्च^{१२} बर्बरः^{१३} ॥ भैरवीवच ।
षड्विंशतिभिरा^{१४}ख्यातः पर्यायैर्मध्यगन्धकः ॥

इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां जारकादिमध्यगन्धवर्गो द्वितीयः ॥२॥

[तृतीयो हीनगन्धवर्गः]

- शृङ्गीकटफलरेणुकाक्रिमिरिपुत्रायन्तिकावल्गुजा-
जिङ्गीतक्त्युगारुणाफलिवरादुस्पशोदावीच्छदाः ।
जीवन्तीनतपुण्ड^{१५}लोध्रचविकाम्भोजाष्टवर्गेन्द्रजा-
रास्त्रानागबलेभरक्त^{१६}मदना हीनाख्यगन्धाः स्मृताः ॥
5 कर्कटाख्या महाघोषा शृङ्गी कर्कटशृङ्गयपि^{१७} ।
कुलीरशृङ्गी चक्राङ्गी कुलिङ्गा^{१८} कासनाशिनी ॥ काँकड़ाशृङ्गी ।
कटफलः^{१९} सोमवल्काख्यः^{२०} कुम्भी भद्रा च रोहिणी^{२१} काफल ।
हेरण रेणुका कौन्ती ब्रह्माणी हेम^{२२}गन्धिनी ॥ रेणुक ।
जन्तुघ्नं भस्मकं वेल्लं^{२३}क्रिमिघ्नं चित्रतण्डुलम् ।
10 क्रिमिशत्रु विडङ्गश्च गह्वरं^{२४} तच्च कैरवम्^{२५} ॥ विडङ्ग ।
त्रायमाणा सुमद्राणी^{२६} त्रायन्ती भद्रनामिका^{२७} । भादलिया^{२८} ।
वागुजी^{२९} चन्द्रलेखा^{३०} स्यात् सोमराजी तु^{३१}वल्गुजा ।
कुष्णा^{३२} पूतिफला^{३३} कुष्ठनाशिनी सा^{३४}सिताऽपरा ॥ वागुजी ।

^१B. C. कृष्णं. D. F. G. कुष्ठं. ^२A. गन्धिकं. D. लं. ^३A. -डञ्च E. ग्रन्थ-. ^४D. वेधकोमा. ^५B. E. -चकम्. ^६C. गन्धि. ^७A. B. कैवरी. ^८B. C. -वी. ^९G. मिश्र- H. -मित-. ^{१०}B. वेधसी ^{११}A. सिती. ^{१२}B. C. गन्धिश्च. ^{१३}B. भैरवि. ^{१४}D. सप्तविंशैःसमा. ^{१५}D. पुण्ड. E. -ण्डु. ^{१६}D. भक्त्या. ^{१७}D. शृङ्गिका. ^{१८}D. ङ्गी. A. E. कलिङ्गा. ^{१९}C. E. फलं. ^{२०}B. गन्धाख्यः. C. कर्कटाख्यः. ^{२१}D. मोहिनी. ^{२२}B. कान्ति कुपीया भस्म. F. G. ब्राह्मणी. ^{२३}A. E. वेरवं. B. विरलं. ^{२४}A. गह्वं. B. गह्वं. E. गन्धवं. ^{२५}B. कैवरम्. ^{२६}A. B. C. सुचिन्नाणी. E. सुहृदाणी. ^{२७}A. मानिका. B. G. बलभद्रिका. E. वनभद्रिका. ^{२८}C. वनभादुल्या. ^{२९}F. G. बाकुषो. ^{३०}B. F. रेका. ^{३१}D. F. ख. E. च वल्गुजा. ^{३२}A. C. E. F. कृष्ण. ^{३३}D. फली. ^{३४}C. ना-

- माञ्जिष्ठा विकसा^१ जिङ्गी काला^२ योजनपर्य्यपि ।
 15 ताम्रवल्ली^३ चित्रपर्णी गण्डिरी^४ रक्त्याष्टिका^५ ॥ माञ्जिष्ठा ।
 रक्तिकाखडेरुहारिष्ठा चक्राङ्गी सकुलादनी^७ ।
 रक्तरोहिणिका चैव कटुका कटुरोहिणी ॥ कटुकी ।
 नेत्रामयहरी चान्या कटुका^९ पीतरोहिणी । पीतकटुकी ।
 किराततित्तकैरातभूनिम्बकाण्डतित्तकाः^{१०} ॥ नेपालचिराता ।
 20 काश्मी^{११} राताविषा श्वेता विषा प्रतिविषारुणा । आतङ्गच ।
 चणकोमातसी चान्या जुमा^{१२} शृङ्गी घुणप्रिया । अतसी^{१३} ॥
 विश्वक्सेना^{१४} प्रिया कान्ता प्रियङ्गुः फलिनी फली : प्रियङ्गु ।
 हरीतक्यक्षधात्रीभि स्त्रैफलं त्रिफला वरा ॥ त्रिफला ।
 अभया त्वव्यथा पथ्या वयस्था^{१५} पूतनामृता ।
 25 हरीतकी हैमवती चेतकी श्रेयसी शिवा ॥ हरितकी ।
 कलिद्रुमः कल्पवृक्षः संवर्ताक्षौ विभीतकः^{१६} । बहेड़ा ।
 वयस्थामलकी धात्री पथ्या^{१७} कर्षफलामृता ॥ आमला ।
 यासो यवासो दुस्पर्शो धनुर्यासः^{१८} कुलासकः^{१९} ।
 रोदनी वच्छुरानन्ता समुद्रान्ता दुरालभा ॥ दुरालभा ।
 30 ग्राहिणी कच्छुरा चान्या^{२०} ताम्रमूला मरुद्भवा ॥ दुरालभाभेद ।
 कटक्कटेरी पीतद्रुकालेयकहरिद्रवः ।
 दार्वी पचम्पचा दारुहरिद्रा पर्जनीत्यपि ॥ दारुहरिद्रा ।
 नीलाम्बरं चार्कवेधं तालीशं पल्लवाह्वयम् । तालीशापत्र ।
 सुवर्णवर्णा जीवन्ती दुर्लभा क्षयनाशिनी ॥ जीवन्ती ।
 35 कालानुसारिवा^{२१} चक्रं तगरं कुटिलं शठम् ।
 महोरगं नर्त जिह्वं दीनं तगरपादिकम्^{२२} ॥ तगरपादुका ।
 प्रपौण्डरीकं पुण्डर्यं भूतप्री^{२३} श्रवणारुणा । पुण्डरिया काष्ठ^{२४} ।
 प्रपौण्डरीकं चक्षुष्यं^{२५} सितं^{२६} श्रीपुष्पपुण्डरी^{२७} ॥ पुण्डरियाभेद ।

^१D. पा. ^२C. काली. ^३A. B. पर्णी. ^४C. गण्डिरी. VS. गण्डिरी. ^५B. ताम्रपर्णी तु गण्डिरी रक्तीका रक्तजटीका. ^६D. तित्ता. B. C. रक्त. ^७D. शङ्कु. C.-दनी. ^८E. तित्ता. ^९A. B. E.-की. ^{१०}C. कः. D. कम्. ^{११}A. रिव. B. C. स्मी. ^{१२}E. F. G. बोमा. ^{१३}B. आतङ्गच आतशी. D. omits चणको... ^{१४}A. विश्व-. ^{१५}D. वयःस्था. ^{१६}D. तकी. C. omits हरी... ^{१७}D. सीर्या. ^{१८}B. C. जासः. ^{१९}A. H. कुलाम्तकः. C. F. कुलाशकः. E. कुलाशकः. ^{२०}A. E. H. गण्या. C. चान्या. ^{२१}C. सारिका. ^{२२}B. का. D. पादकम्. ^{२३}A. E. पोण्डर्यं भूतची. ^{२४}B. पीण्डरी काठ. ^{२५}A. E. चक्षुःस्थात्. ^{२६}C. सितं. F. शीतं. ^{२७}D. चक्षुष्यं शीतं श्रीपुष्पं पुण्डरी पुण्डरीयकम्.

- तिरीटो^१ मार्जनो^२ रक्तलोध्रो^३ लोध्रस्तु तिन्दुकः^४ । लोध ।
 40 शुक्रः^५ शबरलोध्रोऽन्यो महालोध्रस्तु^६ शायरः ॥ पाटियालोध ।
 चण्यं तेजोवती^७ कोला नाकुली चविकोषणा^८ । चै ।
 कालानुसारिबाम्भोजा^९ प्ररोहा सिहनी^{१०} सिता ॥ सिहनी त्र्योपट ।
 जीवकर्षभकौ मेदा महामेदद्विष्टद्विके^{११} ।
 काकोली क्षीरकाकोलीत्यष्टवर्गोऽयमीरितः । इत्यष्टवर्गः ।
 45 ह्रस्वाङ्गो जीवकः क्ष्वेढो^{१२} दीर्घायुः^{१३} ऋङ्गकः प्रियः । जीवक ।
 ऋषभो दुद्धरो द्राक्षो^{१४} वल्लुरो मातृको नृपः ॥ ऋषभक ।
 मेदा धीरा^{१५} मणिच्छिद्रा मधुरा जीवनी रसा । मेद ।
 महामेदा देवमणि र्सुच्छिद्रा^{१६} विपाण्डरा^{१७} ॥ महामेदा ।
 ऋद्धिः प्राणप्रिया वृष्या जीवातुः^{१८} सम्पदाह्वया । ऋद्धि ।
 50 वृद्धि^{१९} बौधनिका चैव प्रिया^{२०} वृद्धिष्णुरुत्तमा ॥ वृद्धि ।
 वीरा^{२१} पर्यस्या काकोली^{२२} ध्वांक्षोली सितपाक्यपि^{२३} । काकोली ।
 शुक्लाक्षी^{२४} क्षीरकाकोनी जीववल्ली पर्यास्वनी ॥ क्षीरकाकोली ।
 कुटजः शक्रपर्यायो वत्सको गिरिमल्लिका । कुङ्कुमी ।
 तत्फले कौटजं चेन्द्रयव आपि^{२५} कलिङ्गकः ॥ इन्द्रयव ।
 55 रास्ना युक्तरसा युक्ता^{२६} श्रेयसी सुवहा^{२७} वहा ।
 सुगन्धा सर्पगन्धाख्या नाकुली गन्धनाकुली ॥ गन्धरास्ना ।
 एलापर्णी तु सुवहा^{२८} रास्ना युक्तरसा च सा ॥ सामान्यरास्ना ॥
 गाङ्गेरुकी नागबला भूषा ह्रस्वगवेधुका ।
 खरधन्व^{२९}निका विश्वदेवा गोरक्षतण्डुला ॥ गोरक्षचाउला ।
 60 श्रेयसी कोलवल्ली च गजाह्वा हस्तिपिप्पली । गजपिप्पली ।
 तिलपर्णी ताम्रसार श्रन्दनं रक्तचन्दनम् । रक्तचन्दन ।

^१A. B. C. तिरिटो. ^२F. मार्जजो. ^३A.C.D.रक्तो. ^४A. तिन्मज. C.तेन्दुजः. E.H.तिन्नजः. F. तिलवजः. ^५A.H.पवव. B. सायुर. C. E. सवर. ^६C. न्तु. ^७A. B. तेज- ^८A.-काशना. B.-सना. ^९A. D. शारिवा-. ^{१०}B. सी-. F. G. शीतला. ^{११}B. विकोपना. ^{१२}A.B. खेढो. C. चेढो. ^{१३}A. च. B. सु. ^{१४}A. दावो वल्लवो माचको. E. दाव. B.दावो वल्लवो मय्यको निप. ^{१५}देवमणि. B. दी बामनि. C.मनो. ^{१६}B. रस-. ^{१७}B.रि पाण्डवा. D.ण्डुरा. ^{१८}B. जिवन्ति. C.D.तुस. ^{१९}A. शो. B. वे. ^{२०}A. विद्विस्तु. B. विद्विस्त. B.C. वृद्धि. D.G. सिद्धिः सुरो. ^{२१}C.नीरा. ^{२२}A. ध्या. B. साखोरि. C. D. ध्या. ^{२३}D. F. G. शीत-. ^{२४}C.-नि. D.-नी. ^{२५}B. कु-. ^{२६}D.रस्या. ^{२७}A. B. सुरहा. D.-रसा. ^{२८}A.B.C.सुर. D.सुरसा. ^{२९}A.E.-विश्वदेवा वला...B.खरधान्यनिका विश्वा वला...C. F. धान्यनिका.

पतङ्गः^१ रञ्जनं रक्तं पत्राङ्गश्च कुचन्दनम्^२ ॥ रक्तचन्दनभेदः ।

मदनः श्वसनो राचो गालः^३ पिण्डीतकः फलम् ।

छर्दनो विपपुष्पश्च करहाटश्च शल्यकः^४ ॥ मयनफलः ।

65 पिचुलो^५ मुचुकुन्दश्च^६ कण्टकी मदनो मतः । काँटामयनः ।

हीनगन्धगणः पञ्चचत्वारिशद्गणैः^७ कृतः ॥

इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां कर्कटाख्यादिहीनगन्धवर्गस्तृतीयः ॥३॥

[चतुर्थः सारजवर्गः]

क्षमाफेन^८ पिच्छालवणाद्रिजातत्रिचारवांशीखदिराब्धिफेनैः ।

गोरोचनासालजहिङ्गवोललाक्षापुरैः सारजवर्ग उक्तः ॥

मादकश्च^९ महीफेणो हाफुः परमपूतिलः^{१०} । आफिङ्ग^{११} ।

शात्मलः^{१२} शात्मलीवेष्टः पिच्छा मोचरसस्तथा ॥ सिमुलआठा । ❀

5 सिन्धूद्भवं माणिमथं नादेयं लवणोत्तमम् । सैन्धवलवणः ।

रोमकं रोमलवणं वसुकं^{१३} सचलं^{१४} मतम् ॥ सचललवणः ।

सामुद्रं लवणं यत्तु त्रिकूटं^{१५} माक्षिकं शिवम् । सामुद्रलवणः ।

विङ्गन्धं^{१६} काललवणं विटं विङ्गलवणं तथा ॥ विटलवणः ।

रुचकं^{१७} कृष्णलवणमक्षयं^{१८} सौवर्चलश्च तत् । सौवर्चललवणः ।

10 चण्यं^{१९} तथोद्भिदं पाक्यं लवणं पांशुजं^{२०} तथा ॥ फुलालवणः ।

शिलाजत्वश्मजं शैलं शिलोत्थश्च तथाद्रिजम् । शिलाजतु ।

क्षारत्रयं यावशूकं^{२१} स्वर्जिकाटङ्गं^{२२} नैरपि ॥ क्षारत्रयः ।

पाक्यः^{२३} क्षारो यावशूको यवक्षारो यवाग्रजः । यवक्षारः ।

कपोतः^{२४} सर्जिका^{२५} सर्जिः श्रुग्रीकः^{२६} सुखवर्चलः^{२७} ॥ साचिक्षारः ।

15 लोहद्रावि टङ्गणश्च^{२८} सुभगो^{२९} धातुवल्लभः । टाङ्गनाक्षार^{३०} ।

हेममित्रं शिवं श्वेतटङ्गणं सिन्धुसम्भवम् ॥ फटिकाटाङ्गना^{३१} ।

स्याद्वंश^{३२} लोचना वांशी^{३३} कासघ्नी वंशजा शुभा । वंशलोचनः ।

^१C.पतङ्गः. ^२D. omits तिल...^३A.C.E.पिण्डि. F.G.राठो गज-. ^४A.B.E. स-. ^५D.-को.

^६A. सुचनिन्ध. B.मुजनिन्द. E.मुचलि. F.G.मुचिनि. ^७A. गणे. B. रिंसस्तु वै कृति. ^८D. अफेन.

^९D. आहिफेणाफुकौ तु. ^{१०}C.-क्षा. F.G.-कः B. has after this : हाहाकार समानिय फुत्कारो

नैव वारित । तेन सञ्जायते जुक्तं हाफुमिस्त्युचते बुधा. ^{११}A. B. E. हाफु. ^{१२}C. स.-❀ F.G. have

after this: सिन्धूत्थभौमसामुद्रविङ्गैर्लवणानि च. ^{१३}A. यावसुकं. ^{१४}D. गङ्गास्थं. ^{१५}A. B. C.-कु-

^{१६}D. गन्धि. ^{१७}A. रु-. ^{१८}A.E. यं मोक्षं. C.यं मार्चं. ^{१९}C. उष्ण. D. उष्मं. ^{२०}D.-कं. ^{२१}A. E.सर्जि.

^{२२}C. टाङ्ग. ^{२३}A. E.-कः. C.-क्या. D.-क्यं. ^{२४}C. का-. ^{२५}C. D. E. स्व-. ^{२६}A. रलुचिणक. B.

शुभक. D.शुभग्री. E.रलुचि. ^{२७}B.-स. D.-कः. ^{२८}D.टङ्ग. ^{२९}C.शु-. ^{३०}A.सोहागा. ^{३१}A.फटिकासोहागा.

B.फटिकारि. ^{३२}B.सादुत्था. C.स्यादुं. ^{३३}A. C.वांसि.

- गायत्री बालतनयः खदिरो^१ दन्तधावनः ॥ खदिर ।
 तत् सिते[स सितस्?] तरुजः श्रेष्ठः^३ कदरः सोमवल्कलः । राज्ञश्चिखदिर^४ ।
 20 अरिमेदो विट्खदिर स्तित्तसारश्च कष्टकी ॥ विट्खदिर^५ ।
 द्विहरीरो^६ऽब्धिकफः फेनः^७ स सैन्धव^८कफः स्मृतः । समुद्रफेन ।
 गोरोचना तु मङ्गल्या रोचना^९ केशव^{१०}प्रिया ॥ गोरोचना ।
 यक्षधूपः^{११} सर्जरसो रालः^{१२} सर्जश्च शालजः^{१३} । धुना ।
 सहस्रवेदि^{१४} जतुकं बाह्लीकं द्विङ्गु रामठम् ॥ द्विङ्गु ।
 25 विदुलो^{१५} गोपकः पिण्डो वोलो^{१६} गन्धरसो^{१७} रसः^{१८} । बोल ।
 क्रिमिजालक्तको^{१९} लाक्षा यावो^{२०} जतु द्रुमालयः^{२१} । लाहा ।
 जटायुः कालनिर्यासः कौशिको^{२२} गुग्गुलुः^{२३} पुरः ।
 देवधूपः सर्वसहो महिषाक्षः^{२४} पलङ्कषा^{२५} ॥ गुग्गुलु ।
 चतुर्विंशतिभिः प्रोक्तः पर्यायैः सारजो गणः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां महिफेनादिसारजवर्गश्चतुर्थः ॥४॥

[पञ्चमो रत्नवर्गः]

- माणिक्यमुक्तास्फटिकप्रवालगोमेदवैक्रान्तकपुष्परत्नैः ।
 सूर्येन्दुकास्ताशनिनीलराजावर्त्तारमगर्भादिभिराह^{२६} रत्नम् ॥
 रत्नं मणि भवेदश्मजातौ मुक्तादिकेऽपि च । सामान्य रत्न ।
 पद्मरागो लोहितको माणिक्यं शोणरत्नकम्^{२७} ॥ माणिक्य ।
 5 पक्वदाडिमसङ्काशं^{२८} माणिक्यं शिखरं^{२९} विदुः । श्रेष्ठमाणिक्य ।
 अम्भःसारं^{३०} शौचिकेयमिन्दुरत्नञ्च मौक्तिकम् ॥ मुक्ता ।
 मुक्ताप्रसू^{३१}स्तौतिकश्च शुक्ति मौक्तिकसंपुटम्^{३२} । मुक्ताशामुक^{३३} ।
 शैवः शूकः^{३४} श्वेतरत्नं स्फटिको निस्तुषो^{३५}पलम् ॥ स्फटिक ।
 प्रवालो भौमरत्नं स्याद् विद्रुमो गोपवल्गवः^{३६} । पला ।

^१A. च. ^२B. शीते. C. षिङ्गे. F. सशीते. ^३D. श्वेतखदिरस्तर्जुजः. ^४C. राज्ञा खदिर. ^५A. C. विट्गन्ध. ^६A. B. द्विङ्गु. ^७C. द्विहरी. E. तुयिङ्गु. ^८C. E. फेनः. ^९A. सिन्धव. C. सन्दुर. D. F. सिन्धुर. E. सिन्धूर (-व). ^{१०}D. नी. ^{११}A. C. -रः. ^{१२}D. यक्ष. ^{१३}B. C. वाससर्ज. ^{१४}C. शाससः. ^{१५}A. धी यक्ष. C. धी. G. वि जन्तुर्न. ^{१६}D. वर्धरो. F. विद्रु. ^{१७}C. रोगो. ^{१८}B. C. गन्धिरसा. ^{१९}B. रोपी. A. C. वरा. ^{२०}C. E. का. D. कौ. ^{२१}A. B. जावो. F. खक्तो. ^{२२}C. मय. ^{२३}A. B. कोसि. C. कोषि. ^{२४}G. -खः. ^{२५}C. हीसा. ^{२६}A. B. हेम. D. F. राहु. ^{२७}A. B. रत्नकं. C. शोणरत्नकं. ^{२८}A. E. बीजाभं. ^{२९}C. -कं खदिरं. ^{३०}C. शारं. ^{३१}A. E. कात्ती. B. कत्रि. C. काति. Text on VŚ. ^{३२}E. 1'. VŚ. पुटः. B. मौक्तिक शुक्ति पटु. D. omits मुक्ता. ^{३३}A. सामुद्रिक मुक्ता. B. शुक्तिमुक्ता. ^{३४}C. शुक. A. B. D. सूकः. F. G. स्वच्छः. ^{३५}B. शो. C. सो. ^{३६}A. D. E. गोपि. VŚ. H. गोपी. B. गोपीवल्गव.

- 10 पिङ्गस्फटिकं गोमेदोऽगस्तिसत्त्वं^३ तमोर्माणः^४ ॥ गोमेद ।
 वैक्रान्तं नीचकुलिशं^५ गोनासं^६ लुद्रवञ्जकम्^७ । वैक्रान्त ।
 पुष्परागो^८ जीवन्तं पीतस्फटिकं^९ इत्यपि ॥ पुष्पराग ।
 दीप्तोपलः सूर्यकान्तो ज्वलनाश्माग्निगर्भकः^{१०} । सूर्यकान्त ।
 चन्द्रकान्तं सोममणिः सिताश्मा^{११} प्रस्त्रोपलम्^{१२} । चन्द्रकान्त ।
- 15 हीरकं वज्रमशिरं^{१३} षट्कोणं दृढगर्भकम् ॥ हिरा ।
 शौरिप्रियं^{१४} नृणामाहि नीलामन्द्रोपलं तथा ॥ नीला ।
 आवर्तः पालको^{१५} वर्तो राजावर्तो नृपाह्वयः । राजावर्त ।
 गारुत्मतं^{१६} मरकतमश्मगर्भं हरिन्मणिः ॥ मरकत ।
 वैदूर्यं राष्ट्रकं केतुरत्नं मेघस्वनाङ्कुरम्^{१७} ॥ वदूर्य ।
- 20 वज्रञ्च मौक्तिकञ्चैव माणिक्यं नीलमेव च ।
 तथा मरकतं ज्ञेयं महारत्नानि पञ्चधा^{१८} ॥
 गोमेदं^{१९} पुष्परागञ्च वैदूर्यञ्च प्रवालकम् ।
 उपरत्नानि चत्वारि नवरत्नमिहोच्यते^{२०} ।
 इत्यन्यान्यपि रत्नानि ज्ञातव्यानि प्रयोगतः ।
- 25 रत्नवर्गस्त्रिभैरत्नैः^{२१} श्रुतुर्दशभिरीरितः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां माणिक्यादिरत्नवर्गः पञ्चमः ॥५॥

[षष्ठो धातूपधातुवर्गः]

- श्रेष्ठः पारद एष^{२२} हेम रजतं मूच्छास्य^{२३} कालायसं
 रीति[र]घोषमृदङ्गसीसक^{२४}मिति ह्यष्टौ स्मृता धातवः ।
 हिङ्गुलाञ्जनतुत्थ^{२५}मेघविमलासिन्दूर^{२६}दाव्य^{२७}द्विमृद्
 गन्धास्त्रा^{२८}ङ्गशिलालमाक्षिकविषैः प्रोक्तोपधात्वाकृतिः ॥
- 5 हरबीजं रसः सूतं^{२९} पारदश्चपलोऽमृतम् ॥ पारारस ।
 स्वर्णं सुवर्णं कनकं हिरण्यं हेम हाटकम् ।

^१A. B. C. E. F.-क. ^२B. दाग. C. दग. ^३A. F. G. खं. B. त्यं. C. तत्त्वं. ^४B. वज्र.
^५C. विच-. ^६A. B. गोलासे(B-शे). C. नाशः. E. लाशः. ^७C. लुद्र-. ^८E. राजे. ^९A. E. पिङ्ग-.
^{१०}A. B. E. जलनामा-. C. जलनपिकर्भकः. ^{११}A. पीतस्व. B. C. E.-श्म. ^{१२}D. प्रस्तरो. VŚ.
 प्रस्तरोपलः. ^{१३}A. E. सिरं. B. सुरं. ^{१४}B. गौरि-. ^{१५}A. पालकं. B. पालिका. C. गणिका. D. पणिका.
 VŚ. पणिकावर्तः. F. G. मणिका-. ^{१६}D. पा-. C. पारसुतं. ^{१७}D. स्वरा-. C. रत्नमित्त्वं घनाङ्कुरं.
^{१८}A. मृदधा. ^{१९}D. पद्म-. ^{२०}D.-मिदं मतं. B. C. F. G. omit वज्रञ्च... ^{२१}A. B. H. सभैरत्नैः. ^{२२}C.-येव.
 D. F. G. एव. ^{२३}A. F.-व्य-. ^{२४}A. मृदङ्गं बहुमल आष्टौ... E. शीषक-. F. घोषकवङ्गशीषक-. ^{२५}C. D.
 मेघ-. ^{२६}C. दावदुभै. ^{२७}A. E. भाङ्ग-. B. दङ्गासङ्ग-. C. सङ्गि-. ^{२८}F. G. मृतः.

- भस्म^१ चामीकरं^२ रुक्मं शातकुम्भ^३श्च काञ्चनम् ॥ सुवर्ण ।
 खजूरं रजतं श्वेतं तार^४दुर्वर्णरौप्यकम्^५ । रूपा ।
 रक्तं बर्हिष्ठ^६ मुच्छास्यं^७ ताम्रं^८ शुल्वमुडुम्बरम् ॥ तामा ।
 १० श्लोहोऽयः शस्त्रकं तीक्ष्णं पिण्डं कालायसायसी^{१०} [८से ?] । लोहा ।
 वर्त्तलोहं^{११} तीक्ष्णलोहं नीलिका^{१२} पुटलोहकम्^{१३} ॥ रुखलोहा ।
 दिव्य^{१४}लोहमयस्कान्तं कृष्णायो लोह^{१५}कान्तकम्^{१६} । कान्तलोहा ।
 सिंहां^{१७} किट्टमण्डूरं लौह^{१८}किट्ट^{१९}मयोमलम् ॥ लोहागु ।
 पिङ्गलं^{२०} पित्तलं रीतिरार^{२१}कूटं कुकाञ्चनम् । पित्तल ।
 १५ कंसं^{२२} सौराष्ट्रिकं^{२३} घोषं^{२४}दीप्तलोहश्च कांस्यकम्^{२५} ॥ काँसा ।
 रङ्गं वङ्गश्च कस्तीर्ण^{२६} मृदङ्गं^{२७} पिषटं^{२८} त्रिपु^{२९} । राङ्ग ।
 नागं बहुमलं^{३०} चीनं पिष्टं गोवेष्ट^{३१}सीसकम्^{३२} ॥ शिशो । इत्यष्ट धातवः ।
 हिङ्गुलं दरदं रक्तं मरा^{३३}लाडिघ रसोदरम् । हिङ्गुल ।
 चतुर्विधाञ्जनं ताक्ष्यस्रोत.सौवीरकृत्रिमैः^{३४} ॥ चतुर्विधाञ्जन ।
 २० रसाञ्जनश्च कृत्तकं ताक्ष्यं^{३५} शैलं रसाग्रजम्^{३६} । रसाञ्जन ।
 स्नातोऽञ्जनं नर्दाजश्च^{३७} वाल्मीकश्च^{३८} जयामलम् । स्नातोऽञ्जन ।
 सौवीरकं पार्वतेयं मेचकं नीलमञ्जनम् । सुविराञ्जन^{३९} ।
 पुष्पाञ्जनं तु कौसुमं दार्वाकाथोत्थमञ्जनम्^{४०} ॥ पुष्पाञ्जन ।
 मूषातुल्यं कांस्यनीलं तुत्थकं शिखिकण्ठकम् । तुतिया ।
 २५ गौरीतेजो गौरीजेयं^{४१} बहुपत्रं घनाह्वयम्^{४२} ॥ अग्र ।
 विमलं माक्षिकश्रेष्ठं श्वेतार्कं^{४३} तारमाक्षिकम् । रौप्यमाक्षिक ।
 सिन्दूरं नागजं^{४४}वीरं रक्तं सन्ध्यारुणं शिवम् ॥ सिन्दुर ।
 चक्षुष्यममृतात्पत्रं^{४५} खर्परि^{४६}दाविका तथा । खापर ।
 गिरिमृद् गैरिकं रक्तधातु^{४७} लोहितमृत्तिका ॥ गिरि ।

^१A.भस्म. B.भष्मा. F.भर्म. ^२A.B.E. चामि-. ^३D.G. कौम्भ. ^४D.F.-रं. ^५B.D.-रु. ^६D.F.G. बरिष्ठ. ^७A.ख्यं. ^८B.सर्ण. D.F.शुल्व. ^९E.लौह for लोह everywhere. ^{१०}F. G.-सौ. D.omits लोहो. ^{११}D.लौहं. ^{१२}C.निलको. F नीलार्क. ^{१३}B.C.E.F.पट्ट. ^{१४}A.दी-. D.G.तीम्. ^{१५}D.लौ. ^{१६}C.-कः. D. puts दिव्य...after तामा. ^{१७}C.-णं. ^{१८}A. B. लो-. ^{१९}C. D. की-. ^{२०}C.- ली. ^{२१}D. वारं कूटं. ^{२२}A. कांस्यं. ^{२३}A. D.-ष्ट्र. ^{२४}A. ती-. ^{२५}A.E.काञ्चनं. ^{२६}A. स्ति-. B. कुस्ति-. F.कुतारं. ^{२७}A.B.E.-द-. ^{२८}D.-वङ्ग-. ^{२९}A.C. त्रिपुः. B -पिष्टपीनतटं. ^{३०}D. वङ्ग-. ^{३१}A. पोपिष्ट. F.गोपे च. C.गोपेष्ट. E.गोपिष्ट-. ^{३२}A. C. 'E. शीश-. ^{३३}A.B.C.E. महा-. B.-लोधि. D. हंसपादं. ^{३४}D. omits चतु. ^{३५}A.B.E. ताक्ष्यं. ^{३६}A.अस्त- ^{३७}A.E.मदीनञ्ज. C.-नाञ्ज. ^{३८}A. E.-हि-. V.S.F.वाह्मीकं. ^{३९}B. omits सोलो... ^{४०}D.G...रीतिकं कुसुमाञ्जनं. ^{४१}D.V.S.-केशं. ^{४२}B.-कूरं. C.-भक्तं. ^{४३}D.G.चं. E.विमला माक्षिकं श्रेष्ठा (माक्षिकश्रेष्ठा V.S)... ^{४४}F.वीररजः ^{४५}A.सनं. B.पूर्णं.C.सर्णं. ^{४६}C.ग्रामदापरा. ^{४७}B.C.E.-कं. A.पुर्त.

- 30 सुवर्णगैरिकं चान्यत् सुरकं स्वर्णगैरिकम् । स्वर्णगिरि ।
पाक^१शुक्ला शिलाधातुः कठिनी^२ च खटी खडी^३ ॥ खडी
दुग्धपाषाणिका क्षीरा साध्वी गोमेदसन्निभा^४ । दुग्धखडी ।
सौराष्ट्री पार्वती मृत्ना काक्षी^५ स्याच्छत्रपटी ॥ पर्वतमाटी ।
गौरीबीजं बलि गन्ध^६पापाणो गन्धकः स्मृतः । गन्धक ।
- 35 कम्पिप्लवस्तु रक्ताङ्गी^७ गुण्डा^८ रोचनिका सा ॥ काङ्गुष्ठा ।
मनःशिला च गोला च मनोज्ञा^९ नागजिह्विका^{१०} । मनःशिला ।
नैपाली कुन्ती गोला^{११} मनोगुप्ता^{१२} शिला ॥ डालिमा मनःशिला ।
पिञ्जरं पित्तलं तालमालञ्च^{१३} हरितालकम् ।
छत्राङ्गं काञ्चनरसं गोदन्तं नटमण्डनम् ॥ हरिताल ।
- 40 मार्त्तिकं धातुमार्त्तिकं^{१४} ताप्यं स्वर्णाह्वयं मतम्^{१५} । स्वर्णमार्त्तिक । इत्युपधातवः ।
काकोलो^{१६} गरलः क्ष्वेडो विषं स्याद् दारदोऽपि च ।
सौराष्ट्रिकः शौक्तिकेयो ब्रह्मपुत्रः प्रदीपनः ॥ विष ।
स्थावरं जङ्गमञ्चैव तस्याष्टादश भेदकाः^{१७} । तद्भेद ।
कालकूटं मयूराख्यं बिलकं^{१८} शक्तुकं^{१९} तथा ॥
- 45 वालुकं वत्सनाभञ्च शङ्खनाभं सुमङ्गलम् ।
शृङ्गी कर्कटकं मुस्तं कर्दमं पुष्करं^{२०} शिखी ॥
^{२१}हारिद्रं हरितं^{२२} चक्रं विषं हालाहलाह्वयम् ॥ महुरा ।
अर्कधुस्तूरसेहुण्डलाङ्गली^{२३} रवीरकम् ।
गुञ्जाहिफेनवञ्चक^{२४} मष्टोपविपजातयः^{२५} ॥
- 50 सैरी लाङ्गलिका दीप्ता हलिनी गर्भघातिनी^{२६} ।
अग्निजिह्वेन्द्रपुष्पाभिमुखा वह्निशिखा च सा^{२७} ॥ लाङ्गलिया ।
भवेदाखुविषं दारुविषं पाषाणसंज्ञितम् ।
तद्भेदाः शङ्खगोदन्त^{२८} दाडिमीस्फटिकादयः ॥
आदिना^{२९} गौर^{३०} पाषाणनवसार^{३१} विषादयः । दारुमोच ।

^१B. पाण्डु. ^२A.-नाक. B. C.-निक. ^३C. खटि खटी. E. कक्खटी खटी F. कर्कटी. ^४D. omits दुग्ध...
^५A. काङ्गु. B. काङ्ग. D. कांसी. F. G. कांसी. ^६A. E. V.S. गन्धः. ^७A. का.-C. कम्पि. ^८D.-ङ्ग. ^९B. मुण्डा.
F. G. गुण्डी. ^{१०}B.-ङ्गा. ^{११}B.-जिह्विका. ^{१२}D. शिला. ^{१३}D. रोग.-B. मनः. A. C. तु सा. ^{१४}D. G.-मनोज्ञ. ^{१५}A.-वीकं.
^{१६}D. has this line after रौप्यमार्त्तिक. ^{१७}D.-ली. ^{१८}A. D. दि-. ^{१९}E.-ह्वि. ^{२०}A. सतुकं. B. सत्तिकं. C.
शन्तकं. D. सत्तकं. ^{२१}D. पौ-. ^{२२}A. D. E. ह-. ^{२३}D. दं. ^{२४}B. वाद्राक. ^{२५}A. C. E. omit अर्क...
F. G. have a different text for कालकूटं etc.: वत्सनाभं च कामुण्डं बालकं सर्षपाह्वयं । रक्तकं
मुस्तकं शृङ्गी श्वेतशृङ्गी तथाष्टकं ॥ इत्यष्टौ योजयेत् योगे कालकूटादिकं त्यजेत् । कालकूटं मेघशृङ्गं कर्कटं
वटुरं तथा ॥ हालाहलं ब्राह्मणी च हारिद्रं रक्तशृङ्गं । माजिष्ठं केशरं चेति कालकूटादयो दश ॥
इत्यष्टादश विषभेदाः । ^{२६}A. सौ.-B. शै.-C. गौ-. E. शौ-. ^{२७}C. पा-. ^{२८}D. omits सैरी. ^{२९}B. C.-नल.
D. E.-न्ता. ^{३०}C. अ-. D. माजिना. ^{३१}A. B. C. गौरि-. ^{३२}A. B. C. D. E. H. नवाहो पारदादयः
(B. C. नावहा and A. C. E. H. सा-).

- 55 चतुर्विंशतिपर्यायै व्याख्याता धातुसंग्रहः ॥
इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां धातूपातुवर्गः षष्ठः ॥६॥

[सप्तमो मधुरवर्गः]

- द्राक्षामोचनिकोठ^१चोचपनसश्लेष्मातकाश्मर्यकाः
क्षीरी तालापियालपूगमधुकस्तु^२ग्दाहबिल्वानलाः ।
खजूरेक्षुमधूक^३तिन्दुकमधुक्रो^४दु^५वौष्टीवरी-
त्वक्क्षीरीश्रवणाबलास्तु मधुराभिल्ये गणे कीर्तिताः ॥
5 मृद्वीका^६ गोस्तनी द्राक्षा स्वाद्वी^७ मधुरसेति च । द्राक्षा ।
कदली वारण^८वुसा^९ रम्भा मोचांशुमत्फला ॥ कदली ।
अङ्कोटस्तु^{१०} निकोठः^{११} स्यादङ्कोलो वामनो^{१२}ऽपि च । आङ्कुड़ा ॥
चोचनाग्री पयःपेटी^{१३} नारिकेलस्तु लाङ्गली ॥ नारिकेल ।
पणसः^{१४} कण्टकि^{१५}फलो द्वैपको^{१६}(?) पनसः^{१७} स चेत्^{१८} । पनस ।
10 शेलुः^{१९} श्लेष्मातकः शीत उद्दालो^{२०} बहुवारकः ॥ बहुरि (बोहारि) ।
श्रीपर्णा कास्मरी^{२१} भद्रा गम्भारी गोपभद्रिका^{२२} ।
कुमुदा च सदाभद्रा^{२३} कट्फला कृष्णवृन्तिका ॥ गाम्भारि ।
राजादनः क्षीरवृत्तः^{२४} पलाशी वानरप्रियः । क्षीरकुल ।
तृणराजाह्वयस्तालः सोपि^{२५} लेखः शताङ्गुलः ॥ ताल ।
15 राजादनः पियालः स्यात् सन्नकटु^{२६} धनुष्पटः । चारकोलि^{२७} (पियाल) ।
घोण्टा^{२८} तु पूगः क्रमुका गुवाकः खपुरो^{२९}ऽपि च ॥ गुवाक ।
मधुकं क्लोतकं यष्टिमधुका^{३०} मधुयष्टिका । जष्टिमधु ।
विकङ्कतः स्वादुकण्टः^{३१} स्त्रग्दाह^{३२} मधुपर्यपि^{३३} ॥ बो ईचि ।
बिल्वो महाकपित्थाख्यः श्रीफलो गोहरोतकी ।
20 पूतिवातो^{३४}ऽथ मङ्गल्यां मालुरश्च महाफलः^{३५} ॥ बिल्व ।
भल्लातकोऽरुष्टरश्च भल्लातः शोथकृत्तथा^{३६} ।
वह्निनामा वीरत^{३७} ब्रणकुट् भूतनाशनः ॥ भाना ।

^१D.-कोच.F.G.-कोषपेच. ^२B.-लि. D.-बी. ^३A.B.C.ष्टा. ^४A. E.-द्वि. C.-त्ति. ^५B. सादि. C.जाल्यु. ^६A.-रुण.C.-रणी. ^७A.वुषा.B.D.वुशा.H.विषा. ^८D.E.F.उस्तु. ^९D.कोचः. ^{१०}D.F.-यो रोचनो. ^{११}D.-योधरा. ^{१२}A.E.-शः. C.D.-न-. ^{१३}A.C. D.-की. ^{१४}A.-कौ. B.-च. C.-क.F.-कुः. ^{१५}D.-पनस अम्पाकोयश्च. ^{१६}B.स्ववित्. For वृहत्? Cf. Bh., पनसः कण्टकिफलः पनसो (v.l. फणाशो)ऽतिवृहत्फलः. ^{१७}C.से. ^{१८}A.-दा-. B.C.-दा-. ^{१९}D.E.-रम-. ^{२०}C.-द्र-. ^{२१}D.महा-. ^{२२}D.-रि-. ^{२३}A.सौ. B.-पी. D. लेख्यपत्रः. F.सोप-. ^{२४}B.-र्य- C.-स्व.E.सन्नि-. ^{२५}B.पियाल फल. ^{२६}E.गोण्टा. ^{२७}A.-पुं-. B.-र्य-. ^{२८}A B. D.यष्टी-. C. ज-. ^{२९}A. B. C.-रु. ^{३०}A. E. स्त्र-. B. C. सु-. D. शु-. ^{३१}A. B. C. E.म-. ^{३२}E. पूल. ^{३३}D. रन्निशिसावर्पि. ^{३४}C. D.-हुत्-

- वृषकः 'स्याद् भोजनको नदीभल्लातको मतः । तद्भेद ।
 स्वादाढ्यः^१पिण्डखजूरः खजूरी ग्रामजापर^२ ॥ खजूर ।
- 25 महारसोऽसिपत्रः स्यान्मृत्यु^३पुष्पो मधु^४स्तृणः ।
 रस^५नेष्टो रसालः स्यादित्थश्च मधुरा^६करः ॥ आखु ।
 तद्भेदाः पुण्ड्रकान्तार^७नैपालशतपर्वकाः^८ ॥ इत्थभेद ।
 मधुपुष्पो मधूकश्च^९ गुडपुष्पो मधुद्रुमः । महुल ।
 गौरसालो^{१०} मधुलोऽन्यो गिरिजः^{११}स्वल्पपत्रकः ॥ गिरिज महुल ।
- 30 तिन्दुकः स्फुर्जकः कालस्कन्धश्च शितिसारकः । माकडकेन्दु ।
 काकेन्दुः कुलकः काक^{१२}पीलुकः काकतिन्दुके^{१३} ॥ धुषुर केन्दु^{१४} ।
 मधु पुष्परसं क्षौद्रं मकरन्दश्च मार्त्तिकम् । मधु ।
 शृगालकोलिः कर्केन्दुः^{१५} क्रोष्टुनामा वनोद्भवा^{१६} ॥ सिञ्चाकुल ।
 मूर्वा देवी मधुरसा मोरटा तेजनी श्रुवा^{१७} ।
- 35 मधू^{१८}लिका धनुःश्रेणी गोकर्णी पीलुपर्यपि ॥ मूर्वा ।
 श्लोष्ठी रक्तफला बिम्बी तुण्डिकेरी च बिम्बिका । तेलकुचा ।
 शतमूली बहुसुता भीरुनिन्दीवरी वरी ।
 ऋष्यप्रोक्ताभीरुपत्रीनारायण्यः^{१९}शतावरी ॥ शतमूली ।
 क्षीरशुक्ला तुगाक्षीरी* त्वक्क्षीरी पार्थगी तुगा^{२०} । तालक्षीरी,
 क्षीरपालो इति केचित् ।
- 40 अलम्बुषा^{२१} मुण्डरिका^{२२} श्रावणी तु पलङ्कषा ।
 कदम्बपुष्पी^{२३} श्रवणा भूतप्री कुम्भ^{२४}वारुणा ॥ मुण्डरिद्वय ।
 वाट्यालकं वाट्यपुष्पं समांसा^{२५} विनया^{२६} बला ॥ बाड्याला ।
 ऋष्यप्रोक्ता त्वतिबला पीतपुष्पा महाबला । पीतबाड्याला ।
 सप्तविंशतिपर्यायैः समाप्तो मधुरो गणः ॥
- इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां द्राक्षादिमधुरवर्गः सप्तमः ॥७॥

^१A.C.स्वा. ^२A.E. स्वादाढ्य. B. सादादा.F. स्कन्दाढ्यः ^३D. omits स्वादा. ^४A. F.मधु.
^५A.C.D.F.वृ. ^६D.-साखे.-C.-सेने. ^७A.E.रो रसः. ^८B.F.च. ^९B.पूर्विका. A.D.E.omit तद्भेद..
^{१०}B. मधुरिका. A.B.C.D. मधूकश्च. D. interchanges गुडपुष्पो and मधुपुष्पो. ^{११}D. F.शाको.
 E.-शाको. ^{१२}A.B.E.F.सो-. ^{१३}C.-कः. ^{१४}A.-पीलक. D.-कः. ^{१५}E.omits तिन्दुकः. ^{१६}A.B.C.
 F.G.-मृदुः. ^{१७}D.G.-वः. ^{१८}D.VS.क्षुवा. ^{१९}A.B.C.F.G.-धु. ^{२०}C.सिता.* E. तु गच्छीरी. F.G.
 गोचरी. ^{२१}D.G.-वी तुसा. F. पार्वती. ^{२२}A -मृदु. ^{२३}B.C.-तिका. D. मुण्डि. ^{२४}E.F.G.-पुष्पा.
^{२५}A.E.H.-दृ-F.-का-G.ला-D.-गी. ^{२६}A.E.-मांसं. ^{२७}D.समांशा विजला. E.F.G.H. विजया.

[अष्टमोऽम्लवर्गः]

दाडिम्बात्रकपित्थजम्भकरुणारुच्याख्यनिम्बा'मलै—
जम्बूकारुकरमर्दलवलीभव्यामुकैरावतैः ।

चिञ्चस्वेत्रपरूपकोलिलिकुचाभ्रातैर्^१सोलङ्गकै—

द्रव्यैरेभिरुदीरितः परिमितैरम्लाभिधानो गणः ॥

5 दाडिमं^३ दाडिमी रक्तपुष्पमम्लो^४त्तमश्च यत् । दाडिम ।

आम्रश्चूतो रसालोऽसौ सहकारोऽतिसौरभः ॥ आम्र ।

कपित्थो मन्मथो ग्राही दधित्थो^५ दोषपाचनः^६ । कयेत्बेल ।

स्युर्जम्बीरे दन्तशठजम्भ^७जम्भीरजम्भलाः^८ ॥ जम्बीर ।

सुरङ्ग^९ करुणाम्नाढ्य^{१०} स्तथा विषमवक्तलः । करुणा ।

10 मातुलुङ्गा^{११} सुगन्धान्या^{१२} गिरिजा पूतिपुष्पका^{१३} ।

अत्यम्ला देवदूती^{१४} च मधुरा^{१५} मधुकुक्कुटी^{१६} ॥ मधुटाबा ।

निम्बाभिधानो^{१७} लिम्पाकं^{१८} कचित् कोषफला च सा । निम्बु ।

प्राचीनामलकं वृत्तं पानीयामलकं^{१९} तथा ॥ पानि आमला ।

महाजम्बु मंहापत्रा राजजम्बु बृहत्फला । वडजाम ।

15 भूमिजम्बुः काकजम्बु नादेयी सितवल्गरी^{२०} ॥ भूमिजाम ।

कारुकः कर्मरङ्गः स्याद दंशालस्तु^{२१} शुक्रप्रियः । कामराङ्गा ।

करमर्दी^{२२} वनेलुद्रा वरामु^{२३} करमर्दकम्^{२४} ॥ करङ्गा ।

लवली^{२५} विषमूला च शिरामलक इत्यपि । शिर आमला ।

तोयाधिकं(?)^{२६} सम्पुटाङ्गं भव्यन्तु कुसुमोदरम् ॥ चालता ।

20 चाङ्गेरी चुक्रिका दन्तशठाम्बुष्टामूलोणिका । आमरोल ।

पेरावते नागरङ्गो नादेयी भूमिजम्बुका ॥ नारङ्ग ।

वृक्षामुमल्लिका चिञ्चा तन्तिडी चुक्रिकाऽपि च । ते तुली ।

वेत्राग्र^{२७}पुष्पविदुल^{२८}शीत^{२९}वानीरवञ्जुलाः ॥ वेत ।

परिव्याधश्च विदुलो नादेयी चामुवेतसः । पानिवेत^{३०} ।

^१E.निम्बा. ^२A.-तोमशोल.-D.-मातपूराह्यै. ^३D.-म्भं. ^४C.-पुष्पांम्लो दाडिम.. ^५C.-बो. ^६A.B.कः. E.-नं. ^७A.B.जम्भ. ^८B.D.जम्भलाः. ^९A.B.C.-ङ्ग. G.-ङ्गः. ^{१०}C.-स्वाध्य. ^{११}E.-खङ्गी. F.G.-खङ्गा. ^{१२}A.-पि.B.स्या.D.-ग्या. ^{१३}D.-पीत. ^{१४}A.B.पूती. E.-पूचि. ^{१५}D.-सा भवेत्. ^{१६}A.-कुकुटी. E.H.-कुकुटी. ^{१७}A.-पिधानो. B.-विधान. C.-विधानो. E.-निम्बाभि.-F.लिम्पा. ^{१८}A.-फिपा च. B.H.निम्बा च C.निम्बा च. ^{१९}B.-को. ^{२०}E.-शी. ^{२१}D.-शिराल. ^{२२}D.-मर्दो. ^{२३}D.-E.क. ^{२४}A.-मकरन्दकं. ^{२५}A.C.-नवली. B.-खवनि. E.-खवनी. ^{२६}A.H.-औवाकिकं. E.-औवाधिकं. B.-ओषाधिकं. C.-औसारिकं. G.-औजाविकं. ^{२७}A.B.-वेता. F.-भूपुष्प. ^{२८}C.-ङ्ग ?-E.-दुखो. ^{२९}D.-वेतसो नम्रकः शीत रथ.... ^{३०}C.-अम्बवेतस.

- 25 परूषकं परू^१ स्यात् किञ्चिन्नागदलो^२पमम् ॥ भूमिसा^३ ।
 बदरी बदलं^४ कोलिः सौवीरं बदरं महत् । बड़ कोलि ।
 फलाधमो^५ दोषकरो लिकुचो लकुचो डहुः ॥ मान्दारि ।
 अश्रातको वर्षपाकी फलेपाकी कपीतनः । आमडा ।
 मृगपर्यायनामाऽसौ रुच्यः^६ पुच्छफलोऽरुणः ॥ मृगकोलि ।
- 30 बीजपूणो^७ मातुलङ्गः^८ सुफलः फलपूरकः ।
 छोलङ्गः^९ पूरकः पूरो बीजपूरोऽमृवंशरः ॥ टाभा ।
 अमृवर्गोऽयमसरत् पञ्चविंशतिपादपैः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां दाडिमाद्यमृवर्गोऽष्टमः ॥८॥

[नवम उत्तमशाकवर्गः]

- जीवन्तीवास्तुटङ्ग^{१०} स्वपन^{११}वचनकृतृत्तिकामेघनादाः^{१२}
 पिण्या^{१३}लोहप्रवहिश्रयथुकसनहत्^{१४}माकमाचीरथाङ्गम्^{१५} ।
 नालीतीक्ष्ण^{१६}कलम्बीसन^{१७}टुकसिकतापो^{१८}दिकाकोपलाह्वा
 पालङ्क्या^{१९}तर्किलाग्यप्रदह^{२०}हिलमुची^{२१}सर्वपं पत्रशाकम् ॥
- 5 जीवनी जीवशाका^{२२} च जीवन्ती गुणवत्तगा^{२३} । जीवन्ती ।
 राजशाकश्चक्रवर्त्ती^{२४} वास्तुकः^{२५} स च वास्तुकः^{२६} ॥ बोथा ।
 दलाम् चुल्लकं^{२७} चामुवास्तुकं टङ्ग^{२८}देशजम् । टाङ्गा बाथुया ।
 निद्राकरं पुञ्जदलं वितुन्नं^{२९} सुनिषन्नकम्^{३०} ॥ सुसुनि ।
 मत्स्याक्षी सुस्वरा ब्राह्मी वयस्था ब्रह्मचारिणी । ब्रह्मी ।
- 10 शिवी^{३१} ब्रह्मी कचिच्छङ्खपुष्पी धूसरपत्रिका ॥ ब्राह्मीभेद ।
 शुक्ल^{३२}पुष्पः^{३३} कुरुवक स्तित्तकः^{३४} कुल^{३५}कोऽपि च । कुरुया ।
 मेघनादो विषहरो मेघाख्य स्तरडुलीयकः ॥ काँटानटिया ।
 पारावतपदी पिण्या लवणा^{३६} स्फुटवल्कला ।
 ज्योतिष्मती पीततैला केचित्तामिङ्गुदीं विदुः ॥ फुट्कीलता ।
- 15 ^{३७}शालिञ्चः शिति^{३८}सारश्च पत्तरो^{३९}लोहमारकः । शालिञ्च ।

^१B.-बलो-^२A.B.E.परूषक.^३A.B.H.वकुलं.D.कुवलं.F.कुवरं कोलं.^४B.D.-दो.^५F.G.गुण्ड-
^६A.B.C.-पूरो.^७D.-लु.^८B.D.सो-G.छोलङ्गः.^९D.-टङ्ग.^{१०}B.C.स्वस-^{११}A.B.D.-नाद.^{१२}E.F.G.
 पिण्या.^{१३}D.-कासहत्.^{१४}D.G.-झी.C.-ङ्गः.^{१५}D.-चणौ.^{१६}A.शज.B.F.G.सल.E.शलटक.D.-कञ्जटक.
^{१७}D.पुतिका.F.G.-तोपो-^{१८}D.रुच्येडगजा.^{१९}A.पदह.B.प्रकुह.D.-दाडहिलमोची.^{२०}D.सा-
^{२१}A.E.H.-कं C.-खा.^{२२}A.वत्तना.B.-त्तळा.^{२३}A.B.त्ति.^{२४}B.-कं.^{२५}B.C.-कं.^{२६}A.E.H.वटकं.
 D.वसुकं.C.चुल्लकं.^{२७}D.E.-कं.^{२८}A.E.-त-^{२९}B.-ल्लं.C.-स्वं.F.वत्तलं.^{३०}B.C.-सल्लकं.^{३१}D.V.8.
 शिव.F.शिवा ब्राह्मी कचिच्छङ्खपुष्पा.H.शिवि-^{३२}A.-क.^{३३}D.-म-^{३४}D.F.-क-^{३५}A.E.-लि-
^{३६}D.खगणा.B.पारावतः पारिभाष्यः पिण्या स्युः.^{३७}C.सा.^{३८}C.सित-F.शीत.^{३९}A.पडुवो.B.वडुवो.
 C.पुण्डुरो.D.पण्डुरो.F.पत्तरो.

श्रीहरिचरणसेनविरचिता
पर्यायमुक्तावली

- चित्रको बह्विनामा च पाठी^१ श्वेतोऽरुणश्च सः^२ ॥ चितामूल ।
 पुनर्नवा तु शोथघ्नी वर्षाभूः प्रावृषायणी ।
 कठिलकोऽरुणा श्वेता वृश्चिरः सा^३ शिवाटिका ॥ पुरुण्या ।
 कालकृतः^४ कोरिमेदः^५ कासमर्दश्च कर्कशः । कालकासन्दा ।
 20 रसायनी काकमाची वायसी च घना^६वहा ॥ काकमाची^७ ।
 चक्राङ्गी वृषपर्णी^८ च दध्यानी च सुदर्शना । पुडिआति (दय्या E.) ।
 नागवल्ली दला^९ नाली रुच्या नाला^{१०}वर्तीति च ॥ नालिता ।
 शोभाक्षने सिम्भु^{११}तीक्ष्ण^{१२}गन्धकाक्षीव^{१३}मोचकाः । शोलना ।
 रक्तोऽसौ मधुशिम्रुः स्यात् सुरङ्गी तु शुभाङ्गनः^{१४} ॥ जातिशोलना ।
 25 कलम्बी पोदिका स्तन्या तद्भेदः कृष्ण^{१५}पल्लवा । कलमी ।
 वृत्तपत्रः सन^{१६}टुको दरदः^{१७} शश्व^{१८}तुद्भवः ॥ नटिया ।
 सिकता ^{१८}घोणिका ^{१९}गौणी ^{२०}वलण्टु कम्बला^{२१}शुकम् ॥ बालीबालिया ।
 उपोदकी मुण्डनी^{२२} च मदघ्नी पिच्छलच्छदा । पुइशाक ।
 कोस^{२३}लाह्वः शाकवीरो जीवशाकः प्रणालकः । खोषला ।
 30 पालङ्क्या हिमजा ग्राम्य^{२४}वल्लभा ^{२५}तुरिकाश्लिका^{२६} ॥ पालङ्क ।
 सहस्रवेधी चुक्रोऽमुवेतसः शतवेध्यपि । अम्बलपालङ्क ।
 दद्रुघ्नः स्यादेडगजः प्रप^{२७}आडस्तु तर्किलः^{२८} ॥ चाकन्दा ।
 दग्धास्याहस्तीक्ष्णपत्रः लुद्रुः कुमरीचकः । तुण्डुपोडा (लङ्कामरीच D.VS.) ।
 जल^{२९}प्रिया ह्रील^{३०}मुर्चा हिलमोचीति वा^{३१} कचित् ॥ हिलिआ ।
 35 कल^{३२}म्बकस्तनुभः^{३३} स्यात् सषपः सूद^{३४}साधनः । सरिषा ।

^१A.E.F.-ठा.B.पाटी.C.फाटि. ^२D.G. . न्यालस्तयोषणः. ^३A.-रः शासि-.C.सिवा-.D. . वर्षकेतुः सारिणी रक्तपुष्पिका. ^४A.-रङ्ग-.E.H.:रङ्ग-. B. कालिकतः कारि-.C.-कडका.VS.कालि-. ^५D.श्चारिमर्दः. VS. कौरिमेदः. ^६A. E. F. G. गुणा-.D. गला-.D.-घना. ^७C. काउया मिल्की. ^८A. विष-.D.-कर्णी. F.G. . . तु दध्याली. ^९A.रसा. ^{१०}B.-ल-.F. लाला-. ^{११}B. शी-.D.शि-. ^{१२}C.-नन्धिका-.D.-प्यान्धका-. ^{१३}A.B.C.-चिर-.*D. has after 1.23 'श्वेतशिम्रु सुतीक्ष्णश्च मुखभङ्गः सितालयः,' which looks like an excerpt from R. ^{१४}F.सुरङ्गा तु शुभाङ्गनः ^{१५}A.E.H.कृष-. B. कृष-.C.दश-.G. वृष-. Text on VS. D. has instead कलम्बी शतपर्वा च कलम्बुरश्च कलाम्बिका. ^{१६}A. E. शल-. B.F.G.सल-.VS. सलकटुकः (?). ^{१७}G.F.वरदः ^{१८}A.सश्रमु-.B. सरश्च-.C.सस्व-.D. has instead 'पानीयतण्डुलीयं यत्तत् कञ्जटमुदाहृतम्' ^{१९}D.घोनिका.H.यो-. ^{२०}A.B.E.H.गो-.F.G.घोषी. ^{२१}A.E. I.शलुट-.B.D.करण्टु.F.कलोण्य.G.कलण्टुः. ^{२२}Cf. R., 'घोला च घोलिका घोली कलन्दुः कवलालुकम्'. ^{२३}D. उपोदिका मोहिनी. F. मुण्डनी. ^{२४}A. E. खोष. D. खोसाङ्कः VS. कोषलाह्व.F. G. कोश-. ^{२५}E.H.ग्राम्या. ^{२६}A.E.-चार-.B.C.-चारका.F.चौरिका. ^{२७}C.-म्बल-.VS.-म्बल-. ^{२८}D.F.-पु-. ^{२९}C.-कि-. D.-यः. ^{३०}A. C. D. जन. *F.-प्राया. ^{३१}C. हिलमोच. D. हिलमोचिः. ^{३२}A. C. पा. E. पङ्क-. ^{३३}D.F.G.-द-. ^{३४}E.तुर्गभः. H.I.-स्तनुभः. ^{३५}A. सुदसायनः. D. सुर-.VS. सुर-.*H.-मेचकाः.

रक्षोभूतपिशाचघ्नः^१सिद्धार्थो गौरसर्षपः ॥ श्वेतसरिषा ।
 क्षवः^२लुधाभिजनको राजिका कृष्णका^३सुरी । राइ ।
 एकत्रिंशत्समाख्याभिराख्यातः शाकजो गणः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां जीवन्त्याद्युत्तमशाकवर्गो नवमः ॥१॥

[दशमस्तित्कशाकवर्गः]

- पाठामेषकपारिभद्रविजयाभूनीपवाणा^४मृता—
 मेकीवासकपञ्चमूल^५शिखरीपेटीजयाम्बन्धकैः ।
 कालीपर्पटरक्तिकाखुसुरभी^६द्रोणाख्यराजलुरै—
 गर्न्धालीत्रिपदीप्रकीर्यवसिरैः^७ स्यात्तित्कशाको गणः ॥
- 5 अम्बष्ठा^८म्बष्ठिका^९ पाठा कुचेला पापचेलिका ।
 एकाष्टीला^{१०} वरा तित्का प्राचीनैक^{११}शिखा^{१२} वृका ॥ एकनादी ।
 नन्दीवृक्षो मेषशृङ्गी तथा मेषविषाणिका ।
 चक्षुर्बहुल^{१३}पुष्पश्च मेदूशृङ्गी गृहद्रुमः ॥ मेडाशृङ्गी ।
 पारिभद्रो निम्बतरु मेन्दारः पारिजातकः^{१४} । पालिषा ।
- 10 शक्राशनश्च विजया त्रैलोक्यविजया जया ॥ भाङ्ग ।
 अलम्बुष^{१५}स्तु गुच्छालो भूकदम्बः कुलाहलः^{१६} ॥ कोकसिमा ।
^{१७}सैरीयकं सहचरो बाणो नीलकुरुण्टकः । नीलभिण्टि ।
 वीरः^{१८} सहचरः पीतपुष्पो दासो^{१९} कुरुण्टकः^{२०} ॥ पीतभिण्टि ।
 वत्सा^{२१}दनी छिन्नरुहा मधुपर्णमृतामरा^{२२} ।
- 15 कुरुण्डल्यमृतवल्ली च गुडुची^{२३} चक्रलक्षणा ॥ गुलञ्च ।
 मेकी मण्डूकपर्णी तु मण्डूकी मूलपर्ण्यपि । थुलकुडि ।
 सिंहास्यो वाजिदन्तश्च वृषो^{२४}वासटरुषकः ॥ वासक ।
 पञ्चमूली बृहत्यौ द्वे पर्णिन्यौ गोलुरस्तथा ॥ ह्रस्वपञ्चमूल ।
 अनाक्रान्ता स्पृशी व्याघ्री भण्टाकी^{२५} च निर्दिग्धिका ।
- 20 सिंही धार्वनिका लुद्रा बृहती कण्टकारिका ॥ कण्टकारि ।

^१B. omits (पाञ्चल्या हिमजा)....^२B. चार-. C. चर-.^३F. तुष्यिका. ^४B. एकविलसि. D. बहुविंशतिपर्याये. ^५A.E.-लो. B. बाजा. C. राना. ^६A.C. सिख. ^७A.B.-रसी. F.G.-रसा. ^८D.E.-सिरैः. ^९B.C.F.-छकी. ^{१०}A.B.-छिला. ^{११}A.-नेव-. B.-नाके-. C.-नेक. F.-नैकेशिका. ^{१२}A. सिकाविका. B. शीगाविका. C.-सिकारक. E.-ससिका. ^{१३}A.-रहनश्च. B. बहुलश्च. C.E.H. बह्वनश्च. F.G. बह्वलश्च. ^{१४}D. omits पारि. ^{१५}A.-शु F... गोष्ठाको. G.-शुषा तु गोशालो. ^{१६}B. E.-कः. ^{१७}A.-सैरि-. B.-सैरि-. C.-नै-. F.G.-कः. ^{१८}A.-विष. ^{१९}B.H.-शी. F.G.-दास-. ^{२०}D. omits सैरी... ^{२१}C.-दिनी. ^{२२}B.D.-वरा. ^{२३}A. B. गुडुची. E. गुडुची. ^{२४}A.-वमासा-. B.-ववासकरूसक. ^{२५}A.-पद्या-. D. स्पृशी for स्पृशी.

- भयटाकी बृहती सिंही वार्ताकी राष्ट्रिका कुली ।
 प्रसहा^१ चक्रवाकी च लताबृहतिकाऽपरा ॥ व्याकुङ्क ।
 ध्रुवा विदारिगन्धाख्या शालपर्यंशुमत्यपि ।
 शाल^२पत्रसमा पत्रै^३ दीघमूला स्थिरा च सा ॥ शालपानि ।
 25 पृथ्वीपणी^४ पृथक्पणी^५ लाङ्गुली^६ क्रोष्टुपुच्छिका ।
 चित्रपणी^७ च कलसी गुहा क्रोष्टुकमेखला ॥ चाकुल्या ।
 पलङ्कषा त्वल्लु^८गन्धा श्वदंष्ट्रा स्वादुकण्टकः ।
 गोकण्टको गोलुरको वनशृङ्गाट इत्यपि ॥ गोलुरा ।
 स्थूलमञ्जर्यपामार्गः प्रत्यक्पुष्पी मयूरकः ।
 30 क्षारमध्यस्त्वधोघण्टा शिखरी खरमञ्जरी ॥ आपाङ्ग ।
 कुबेराक्षी^९ कुलिङ्गाक्षी पेटिका कालवृन्तिका^{१०} । पेटारिया ।
 जया जयन्ती तर्कारी नादेयी वैजयन्तिका ॥ जयन्ती ।
 ग्रन्थिकं पिप्पलीमूलं षड्ग्रन्थिश्चाटिका^{११} शरः ॥ पिप्पलीमूल ।
 सर्पदंष्ट्रामरा^{१२} काली क्रोष्टु^{१३} (२) धूसरपत्रिका^{१४} ।
 35 वृश्चिपत्री वृश्चिकाली विषघ्नी नागवृन्तिका^{१५} ॥ विद्धाति ।
 त्रियष्टिः पर्पटस्तित्तश्चरको^{१६} वत्सकण्टकः ॥ खेतपापडा ।
 शाङ्गुष्ठा^{१७} कृष्णला गुञ्जा रक्तिका काकणन्तिका ।
 काकादनी काकतिक्ता काकजङ्घा शिखण्डिनी^{१८} ॥ काँच ।
 प्रत्यक्श्रेणी द्रवन्ती च पुत्रश्रेण्यासुपणिका ।
 40 वृषपर्यासुपणी^{१९} च^{२०} मूषिका^{२१} फक्षपत्रिका ॥ मुषाकानि ।
 सुरभी तुलसी नन्दा सुरसा^{२२} प्रेतराक्षसी । बावइ^{२३} तुलसी ।
 द्रोणपुष्प^{२४}स्तु गोशोर्षो ग्रन्थिलः शङ्करप्रियः ॥ द्रोणपुष्प ।
 भृङ्गराजः केशराजो भृङ्गः^{२५} पत्राङ्गमार्कवौ ॥ भृङ्गराज^{२६} ।
 कोकिलाक्षो वीरतरुस्त्विहुरः लुरकस्तथा ।
 45 शुक्रपुष्प^{२७} शङ्खत्रकः^{२८} स्यादतिछत्रोऽरुणस्तु सः^{२९} ॥ कुल्याखारा ।
 प्रसारणी च गन्धाली भद्रकाली कटम्भरा^{३०} । गान्धाली ।

^१A.E.सहा (H.सह.) चक्रा रक्तपाकी. . . . B.प्रहसा.C.प्रवाहा. ^२C.-जि. ^३A.E.पणी. B.पत्रे. D. शाखपत्री शालिपत्री. ^४B. C. E. F.-ङ्ग. ^५A. B. C. E. F. H. कृष्ण. ^६B. वृष. ^७A. सि. ^८A. कुल. C.E.क. F.-ङ्गाख्या. ^९B.-सि. ^{१०}A.E. बाटिका-.B.कटिका. ^{११}B. C. D. F. G.H. महा. ^{१२}A.B.H.-ष्ट. V.S.क्रोष्टु. G.क्रोष्टा. ^{१३}A.E.धूसक-(B.धूपक-.C.मधुक.)पुच्छिका. Text on D. and V.S. ^{१४}E.-वृन्तिका.F.-वर्सिका. ^{१५}A.-रकारत्-.B.-ककारत्कुण्टकः. ^{१६}A.-ङ्ग-.B.गाङ्ग. C.I.सा-.E.शाङ्ग-. F.शाङ्गी कृष्णफला. G.शङ्खिनी. ^{१७}A.E.H.I.omit this line. ^{१८}A. E. H. omit पुत्रश्रेण्या. . . but E. has within brackets (पुत्रश्रेण्यासुपणिः). ^{१९}A. H.I.ख-.B. चर्मका फलि. F.पुल्ल. ^{२०}A.B.E.-सी. ^{२१}B.भाबरी..^{२२}C.-स्पञ्ज. D. स्पी. ^{२३}B.-पामार्गमार्करो. D.-ङ्गः पत्त. ^{२४}B. C.-केतराजो. ^{२५}C.-वर्ष. A.-स्पी. E.-ष्पा. ^{२६}C.-कं. F. शिख्रकः. ^{२७}A.-श. ^{२८}D.omits कोकिला. . .

- मधुसूत्रा^१ हंसपादी त्रिपदी^२ हंसपद्यपि ॥ हंसपादी ।
 पूतिकरजः पूतिकः प्रकीर्य^३श्च स^४कण्टकः । नाटाकरजः ।
 पार्वतेयश्च कलभो^६ वशीरः^७ कपिपिप्पली ॥ कपिपिप्पली ।
 50 जामाता च कचिच्चासौ सूर्यावर्त्तः सितोऽपरः । डाकशलिता ।
 त्रिंशत्पर्यायकैरेभिस्तत्तशाकगणो भवेत् ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां पाठादित्तशाकवर्गो दशमः ॥१०॥

[एकादशः पुष्पवर्गः]

- जातीचम्पकसेवतीमुनिजवानल्लयकंभासन्तिका—
 सूचीधातकियूक^८नीपसुवहा^९च्छूरीकहेमोदकैः^{१०} ।
 बन्धूकाज^{११}कपाटलीविषहरध्यामा^{१२}श्वहास्फोटकैः
 कुन्दाशोकपुरुषयूथिबकुलैर्व्याख्यायि पुष्पो [? पौष्पो G.] गणः ॥
 5 सुमना मालती जाती तद्भेदा [दो ?] मोददायिनी^{१३} । जाति ।
 वरलब्धस्तु चाम्पेय^{१४}श्चम्पको हेमपुष्पकः^{१५} ॥ चम्पा ।
 कुमारिका ग्रीष्मभवा सुगन्धा वनमालिका^{१६} । सेवती ।
 अगस्तिः ^{१७}पूतिशाकश्च कुम्भजो मुनिपादपः ॥ अगस्ति ।
 ओडू^{१८}पुष्पं जवा रक्ते पारिजातः सितेऽपि च । ओडमन्दार ।
 10 भूपदी शतपत्रा तु मोहिनी श्रेष्ठमल्लिका ॥ शतदलमल्लिका ।
 मदयन्ती गन्धवती मोदयन्ती खरस्वरा^{१९} । त्रिपुरमल्लिका ।
 शतभीरु भद्र^{२०}मल्ली सैवास्फोटाष्ट^{२१}पादिका ॥ वनमल्लिका ।
 वसुकोऽर्कः सदापुष्पी रूपिका^{२२} च विकीरणः^{२३} । रक्तार्क ।
 श्वेतार्कोऽलर्कराजार्को^{२४} मन्दारो गणरूपिका^{२५} ॥ श्वेता र्क ।
 15 अतिमुक्तः पुण्ड्रकः स्याद् वासन्ती माधवीनता । माधवीलता ।
^{२६}सूचिपुष्पो हलीनश्च^{२७} जम्बुकः^{२८} केतकीति च ॥ केतकी ।
 केतकः काष्ठपुष्पः^{२९} स्याद् वाषिकः^{३०} पाण्डुरच्छदः । किया ।

^१A. B. C.-भवा. ^२A. E.-पादी. ^३B. प्रकीर्यः पूतिकरजः पूतिक.. E. पूतिकरजः पूतिकः.
^४A. F. H.-रजः. ^५C. गिला. ^६D. करभो. ^७C. वसी. D. E.-शि. ^८D.-वकः. ^९B.-सुरहा A. B. C.-
 च्छूरीक. ^{१०}D.-कृष्णैः. ^{११}D.-कृष्णा. ^{१२}D.-कामा. C.-धामा. ^{१३}D.... सुरप्रिया च चेतकी. ^{१४}B. आ. E.
 आम्पा. ^{१५}B.-पुष्पिका. ^{१६}B. नव. D.-मल्लिका. ^{१७}A. E. F. H.-पूत. B.-पुष्प. ^{१८}A. ओड. B. उड. C. वड.
^{१९}A. H. कराम्बरा. C. खरास्वरा. ^{२०}A. प्रवल्ली. E.-वल्ली. ^{२१}B. सपा. C. सुपा. D. omits this line,
 but has instead मोहनी त्रिपुरा हैमा त्रिपुरमल्लिका मोहनी. ^{२२}A. रूपिका. F. रुचिका. ^{२३}B.-रिणः.
 C. चारुकारिणः D. F.-कारुणा. ^{२४}A. B. C. F. H.-को. ^{२५}D.-रूपकः. ^{२६}B. शु. C. शु. ^{२७}A. इनीन. ^{२८}जम्बु.
^{२९}D.-प्यः. ^{३०}A. E. H. वाषिकः (or राषः). B. वास. C. G. वाषुकः. D. वासुकः. V. पाण्डुर.

- अग्निज्वाला सुभिक्षा तु धातकी धातु^१पुष्पिका ॥ धातकी ।
 वकपुष्प-काकशीर्ष-स्थूलपुष्प-शिवप्रियाः ।
 20 वसूकः पाशुपतको यूकश्च^२ वसुहृदकः^३ ॥ चोरहुली (? वग-F.G.) ।
 कदम्बः प्रावृषेयः स्यान्नीपस्तु हलधृक्प्रियः^४ । कदम्ब ।
 भूतकेश्या^५ रक्तवृन्ता^६ सेफाली सुवहा^७ च सा ॥ सिंहली ।
 कुम्भिकः^८ सुरपुन्नागश्छुरिको चिर^९पल्लवः ॥ छूरियाना ।
 रक्तपुष्पः कोविदारो युग्मपत्रस्तु काञ्चनः । रक्तकाञ्चन ।
 25 कर्बुदारः काञ्चनालः पाकारिः^{१०} श्वेतकाञ्चनः ॥ श्वेतकाञ्चन ।
 बालं ह्रीवेरवहिष्ठोदीच्यं केशाम्बुनाम च । बाला ।
 बन्धुको बन्धुजीवः स्यादम्लानो रक्तकस्तथा । सातघटिया ।
 कृष्णार्जकः कृष्णवल्ली कालमारः करानकः^{११} । कालतुलसी ।
 सुगन्धिको मञ्जरीकस्तीक्ष्णगन्धः फणिज्जकः^{१२} ॥ सुगन्धितुलसी ।
 30 अर्जकः श्वेतपर्णासः श्वेतपत्रः कुटेरकः ॥ श्वेततुलसी ।
 पाटजालिप्रियामोघा काचस्थानी फलेरुहा ।
 कामदूती कुबेराक्षी कुम्भी तोयाधि^{१३}वासिनी ॥ पारली ।
 मृदुपुष्पः शुक्लतरुः शिरीषो विषनाशनः^{१४} । शिरीष ।
 कटभिः कण्णी^{१५} श्वेता महाश्वेता च लोमनी^{१६} ॥ [लताशिरीष] ।
 35 अतिलोहितगन्धश्च ध्यामा^{१७} मद^{१८}नकस्तथा । दना ।
 कस्तुरीकः^{१९} क्ष्वेडकन्दः^{२०} करवीरोऽश्वमारकः ॥ करवीर ।
 आस्फोता गिरिकर्णी स्याद विष्णुकान्तापराजिता ।
 गवाक्ष्य^{२१}श्वलुरी^{२२} श्वेता नीलपुष्पा गवादनी ॥ अपराजिता ।
 माघ्यं कुन्दं निरामोदं कराल^{२३}कलिकं शि[सि?]तम्^{२४} । कुन्द ।
 40 वज्रुलः^{२५}किङ्किलासः स्यादशोकः कर्णभूषणम् ॥ अशोक ।
 पुन्नागः पुरुषस्तुङ्गः केशरो देववल्लभः । पुन्नाग ।

^१E.धातु-.F.धातुकी धातु-. ^२B.यु-.^३B.इष्टिकः.A.D.E.H.I. omit वक...^४A.E.H.I. omit कद... ^५B.-रस्या.C.-वेस्या.F.G.-केशी. ^६D शे-. ^७A.B.G.I.सुरहा.F.G...सिता. ^८E H कुम्भी-.
^९D.सपि च. A.B.H.-वज्रभः. VŚ. allots (from Mukta.) the first three terms to सप्तपर्ण, which however appears later on (14.88).^{१०}B.C.E.-री.F.प्रकारी. ^{११}A.H.कवा-
 वकः. B.कवारकः. ^{१२}A.H.फलेर्ष्वके. B.H.फलेज्जकः. ^{१३}A.-विवा-. ^{१४}B.विमलस्तथा-. ^{१५}E.कटभी
 कियिहा. ^{१६}C.-की. F.लोमनी H.मोहनी.D. omits कट...^{१७}F.अतिलोहितगन्धश्च ध्यामो.^{१८}B.C.मोद-
 मुदकस्तयः. H.दह-. ^{१९}A.B.E.H.-रि-. ^{२०}A.H. श्वेतगन्धः.F.क्ष्वेड-. ^{२१}A.C.-वा. B.क्या-
 F.-की. ^{२२}A.B. C.-तरी-. ^{२३}B.-लं. ^{२४}D.मलं. ^{२५}A.रज्जकं च किन्त्यासः. C.रजन किं करालः...

गणिका यूथिकाम्बुष्टा वासन्ती च शिखरिडिनी ॥ जुहि ।
 बकुलः केशरः कण्ठ्य^१ स्तैलाङ्गो^२ मधुपञ्जरः^३ । वकुल ।
 षट्त्रिंशत्पुष्पपर्यायैरासीत् पुष्पाम्बुयो^४ गणः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां जात्यादिपुष्पवर्गे एकादशः ॥११॥

[द्वादशो लताफलवर्गः]

- कुष्माण्डपिण्डीतकशीर्णवृन्त^५ कालिङ्ग^६ कैवोरु^७ कचिर्भटानि^८ ।
^९कर्कोटवातिङ्गनतुम्बीचित्रापटोलज्योत्स्नीसुषवी^९फलानि ॥
 कर्करुः^{१०} स्यात् कुष्माण्डः कुष्माण्ड^{११} कुम्भपर्यपि^{१२} । कुष्माण्ड ।
 वराहः कृष्णपिण्डारः^{१३} कृष्णपिण्डीतकः^{१४} स्मृतः ॥ पिण्डरः ।
 ५ पिण्डीतकः शुक्लपुष्पो ब्रह्माण्डः पीतपुष्पकः ॥ पिण्डरः ।
 सुखवासः शीर्णवृन्त^{१५} स पुषी त्रपुषं^{१६} तथा । काकुड (फुट इति ख्यातः E.) ।
 चेलाख्यो^{१७} वास्तुः कालिन्दो^{१८} प्रैष्मः^{१९} श्वेतप्रभाननः^{२०} ॥ चेलुया ।
 मृदुकण्टफलैवोरुः कर्कटी त्रपुषं तथा । शसा ।
 चिर्भटं राजसुषवी^{२१} चित्राङ्गा^{२२} पूतिपल्लवा^{२३} ॥ गजकारला ।
 १० कर्कोटोऽरण्यसम्भूतः^{२४} कठिलः^{२५} स च ^{२६}[शान्तनुः] । गया करला ।
 वातिङ्गन^{२६}स्तु वार्ताकी हिङ्गुली दुष्प्रधर्षिणी ॥ वार्ताकु ।
 तुम्बी पिण्डफलालावुस्तुष्टा^{२७} तुम्बी बृहत्फला । लाउ ।
 इच्छाकुः कटुकालावुस्तुक्तुम्बी नृपात्मजा ॥ तितलाउ ।
 चित्रा गवाक्षी गोदुग्धा गोडुम्बा नृपवल्लभा । गोहोमफुटि^{२८} ।
 १५ पटोलः कर्कशो^{२९} राजकुलक^{३०}स्तितकः पटुः^{३१} ॥ पटोल ।
 कोषातकी मृद्वङ्गान्या^{३२} जालिनी कृतवेधनः ।
 पीतपुष्पा कृतच्छिद्रा^{३३} ज्योत्स्नी कोशा^{३४}तकी तथा ॥ भिङ्गा ।
 तोयवल्ली कठिलः^{३५} स्यात् सुषवी^{३६} कारवेल्लकः । करेला ।

^१A.E.कण्ठ्य. B.H.कण्ठ्य F.-रोर्कअ. ^२A.E.H.-ल- ^३B.वज्रं. F.पि- ^४A.C.E.H.वासितः पुष्पयो (पुष्पजो). B.जात्यादयो. ^५D.सुरीतल. ^६A.B.-रय. C.काकान्य- ^७D.कठिलकानि. ^८D.चित्राङ्गा. ^९A.B.C.शुषरी. ^{१०}B.-च- ^{११}D.F.-यड- ^{१२}F.-फलपि. ^{१३}B.D.F.-रु- ^{१४}A.F.-यडा- ^{१५}D.सुषावासं सुरीतलं. ^{१६}E.F.-यस्तथा. ^{१७}C.D.वेयया- F.चल्लयो. ^{१८}B.-न्यो. D.-ङ्गो VŚ. F. वास्तुकाक्षिः. E. H. वास्तुकाक्षिन्धो. ^{१९}A.B.C.E.H. श्लेषम- D. प्रीष्मः. ^{२०}A.B.E. प्रभाननः. D. प्रभाननम्. F.H.प्रता- ^{२१}A.B.C.-शुषरी. ^{२२}B.-ङ्ग- F.H.ङ्ग- ^{२३}A.C.E.-पल्लवः. B.पति(F.H. पूति-)^{२४}वक्षसः. ^{२५}A.B.धन्यसंहातः. ^{२६}C.कचिन्द. ^{२७}A.C.E.F.H. स च सा (B.शषका) तनुः. Text on Ratna. in ŚK.&VŚ. D. omits कर्को... ^{२८}A.-ङ्गि. D.-ङ्गमः.†F.पुष्ट- G.पुष्ट- ^{२९}C. राजपुष्पक. ^{३०}B.-टो. ^{३१}A.B.E.F.H.राजः. C.-कुलि- ^{३२}B.पुटः ^{३३}A.-न्यमृद- B.F.H.मृद- D.दीर्घफला. ^{३४}A.B.E.H. कृष्णा. ^{३५}A.B.C.-पा- ^{३६}C. कचिन्न. ^{३७}B. शुषरी.

पर्यायैः पञ्चदशभिर्लताफलगणो मतः ॥
इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां कुष्माण्डादिलताफलवर्गो द्वादशः ॥१२॥

[त्रयोदशः कन्दवर्गः]

- कशेरुशृङ्गाटसहाविदारीमाणौ^१लरात्रीमुषलीरसोनैः ।
शालुककन्दाम्बुजकन्द[ला]^३लुमूलाद्रकैः कन्दगणः प्रदिष्टः ॥
केशिकः^४ स्यात् पीतरसो^५ गोत्यः^६ प्राच्यः^७ कसेरुकः^८ । केशर ।
जलवल्ली क्षुद्रकन्दः शृङ्गाटो जलकण्टकः ॥ पानिफल ।
5 सहा कुमारी तरुणी कन्या रतवकशालिनी ॥ घृतकुमारी ।
क्षीरशुक्ला विदारीक्षुविदारी च पलाशिका^९ ।
क्रोष्टी^{१०} च भूमिकुष्माण्डो वृष्यवल्ली विदारिका ॥ भूमिकुष्माण्ड ।
अन्या क्षारविदारी स्यान् महाश्वेतक्षे^{११}गन्धिका । क्षीरविदारी ।
विशालपत्रः कण्डूरो माणो^{१२} विषविनाशनः^{१३} ॥ मान ।
10 ^{१४}शूरणोऽग्निशिखः कन्द^{१५} स्तीव्रकन्दोऽशसूदनः^{१६} ॥ ओल ।
हारद्रा पीतिका गौरी काञ्चनी रजनी निशा ।
मेहघ्नी रञ्जनी^{१७} पीता^{१८} वणिनी रात्रिनामिका ॥ हरिद्रा ।
बहुपत्री^{१९} दृढाध्यण्डा^{२०} ताली भूम्यामलक्यसौ ।
तामलक्यकण्टा^{२१} सूक्ष्मफला क्षेत्रामलक्यपि ^{२२}॥ भूम्यामलकी ।
15 लशून्^{२३} ^{२४}गुञ्जनारिष्टमहाकन्दरसोनकाः । रसून ।
यवनेष्टः पलाण्डुः स्यात् तीक्ष्णगन्धश्च लोहितः । पेयाज ।
शालुक^{२५}मौत्पलं^{२६} कन्दं पुष्करं पद्म^{२७} मूलकम् । शालुक ।
^{२८}गौरं सौगन्धिकं कन्दं^{२९} कत्तृणं ध्यामरौहिषम्^{३०} ॥ रामकर्पूरा ।
कमलं पङ्कजं पद्ममञ्ज^{३१} नलिनमम्बुजम् ।
20 कुशेशयञ्ज^{३२} राजीवमरविन्दं^{३३} सरोरुहम् ॥ पद्म ।
शतत्रं महापद्मं पुण्डरीकं सिताम्बुजम् । श्वेतपद्म ।
रक्तोत्पलं कोकनदं तद्वद्रक्त^{३४}सरोरुहम् ॥ रक्तपद्म ।

^१A.-से. ^२B.F.-सोह. C.-नोम्पः. ^३A.E.-नाह. B.-नो. C.H.-वा. D.F.-का. ^४A. B. कोषकः E.H. कोशकः C.-शी. ^५B.-वासो. ^६D. गौत्यः. H. गत्यः. ^७B.पा. ^८B.D.E.F.H. शो. ^९B. E.-ला. ^{१०}A.C.D.-धी. ^{११}A.F.-ताक्ष. B.-च.-C.-कै. ^{१२}A. C. मानो. ^{१३}C. वृष. ^{१४}A. सुवर्णो. ^{१५}A. कान्ध. B. E. H. कन्दी ^{१६}D. आः. ^{१७}D. रजि. ^{१८}B. पीत. ^{१९}E. F. पु. ^{२०}D. काण्डा. ^{२१}A. B. जटा. ^{२२}D. मुषली फलिनी सूक्ष्मा फला क्षत्रामलक्यपि. F. G. मुषली कन्दली. ^{२३}C. रसून. E. लशून्. ^{२४}D. गू. ^{२५}A.H.-लु. ^{२६}A.D.E.H. सु. ^{२७}Mss. कन्द. ^{२८}B.E.F.पौ. ^{२९}C.omits पुकरं... ^{३०}D..omits गौरं... ^{३१}A.B.मन्द. ^{३२}A.-वच. C.-वेच. ^{३३}C.-वृन्द ^{३४}A.B.C.-क.

- इन्दीवरं कुवलयं नीलाब्जं नीलमुत्पलम् । नीलोत्पल ।
 कैरवं चन्द्रकान्तश्च गद्धर्भं^१ कुमुदं कुमुत्^२ ॥ शालुक ।
 25 तदल्पगन्धं^३ सोमाख्यं सुरक्तं रक्तकैरवम्^४ । रक्तशालुक ।
 कदली जलकन्दः^५ स्याद् रक्तपुष्पा मृगप्रिया ॥ जलकला ।
 आलुश्चतुर्विधो दण्डमधुपिण्डफलाख्यया । आलुभेद ।
 ताम्बुलपत्रो^६ दण्डालु^७ गन्धालुः सोमवल्कलः ॥ खाम आलु ।
 मध्वालुः स्वादुकन्दश्च लोमशो^८ गुप्तपत्रकः^९ । मउ आलु ।
 30 पृथगालुश्च पिण्डालु हस्तिपात् पिच्छलान्तरः^{१०} ॥ हाथि खोजा आलु ।
 फलालुः स्याद् ग्रन्थिफलस्तयोभयफलः स्मृतः । फल आलु ।
 स्याद्वनालु^{११} वलानालुः^{१२} शङ्खकन्दो बहुप्रजः ॥ पिण्डसारु^{१३} ।
 ह्रस्वकन्दो^{१४} ^{१५}गुच्छकस्तु तनुत्वग्^{१६} भिन्नवल्कलः । तैलसारु ।
 एककन्दः फलानालुः^{१७} कालकोचस्तडागजः ॥ पानिसारु ।
 35 कटुकन्दं नीलकण्ठं^{१८} हरिपर्णश्च^{१९} मूलकम्^{२०} । मूला ।
 आद्रकं शृङ्गवेरं स्यात् पेयाशान्ति(र्)^{२१} वनोद्भवा ॥ आदा ।
 एभिस्त्रिंशत्^{२२}सुपर्यायैः कन्दवर्गः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां कशेरुका^{२३}दिकन्दवर्गस्त्रयोदशः ॥१३॥

[चतुर्दशो महावृक्षवर्गः]

- न्यग्रोधार्णनिम्बहेमवरुणसीहारिभूर्जाम्बुजा
 वेणीशारद^{२४}धीरफलगु^{२५}कुलिकाश्वत्थार्जकर्जार्जुनाः ।
 शाखोट्यु^{२६}ल्लुकवर्णिकारकरजक्षीरी^{२७}ङ्गुदीधमेणाः
 पिङ्गीकिशुकमोचबीजकधवलक्ष^{२८} महापादपाः ॥
 5 न्यग्रोधो बहुपाच्छुङ्गी^{२९} वटो वैश्रवणोदयः ॥ वट ।
 तेजोमन्थो हविर्मन्थो^{३०} उयोतिष्कः पावकोऽरणिः ।

^१D.G. गर्दभं. F. गन्धवं. H. गर्धवं ^२B.adds शालुक मेघा कन्द स्याद्द्वारीपर्यायं तु कुम्भिकः.
^३A.-न्याग.-B.-न्यग.-E.-न्यगन्धपुष्पाख्यं. F.-न्यद् गन्ध-. ^४A.B.-कैवरम्. ^५F.G. कन्दली जलदोक्ता
 (G.-भोक्ता). ^६A. B.E.H.-त्रा. ^७C. दग्धा-. ^८B.C.-सो. ^९A.B.E.H.-का. ^{१०}A.B.E.H.
 I. omit पृथगा. .C. पृथवालु-. and पिच्छलोद्भवः. VŚ. पृथगालुः and पिच्छलः. G. पिच्छलान्तरं.
^{११}A.-द्वान्य. ^{१२}E. वनालालुः. ^{१३}A.B.-पारु. .E.-शारु. ^{१४}C. हस्ति-. ^{१५}A.B.E. गो-. ^{१६}A.-लुग्.
 B.-मग्. VŚ.-स्वग्. ^{१७}A.E.H. (एककन्दफलालुः स्यात् E.)-स्याकानाकाचस्तदडागजः- B...स्याका
 ना कोपी च... VŚ. कालकोठः. ^{१८}C-कन्द. ^{१९}A.B.E.-पर्ण-. ^{२०}D. omits पृथगा.... ^{२१}A. सान्नि.
 B.-सान्त. D. कटुभद्रं तथार्द्रिका. F. श्रेयसी च. ^{२२}A.B.E. एकत्रिंशत् प-. C. एकविंशति-. ^{२३}A.-
 B.C...सकर्कसकन्द. ^{२४}A.B.सारवी.C.E.सा-. ^{२५}B.कटुका. ^{२६}C.नोखाटी कुलुक. .D. शाखोटकारुणा.
^{२७}A.B. चारि-. ^{२८}A.B. प्राग-. ^{२९}A.B.C.H. चङ्ग. F.-ङ्गु. ^{३०}A.B.E. हरिन्म-

- बह्निमन्थोऽग्निमन्थश्च मन्थानो^१ गाणकारिका ॥ आङ्गन्त ।
 कैटयः पिचुमर्दश्च निम्बोऽरिष्टो बृहत्त्वचः ।
 छर्देनो हिङ्गनिर्यासः प्रियसालस्तु पावतः ॥ निम्ब ।
 10 आरेवतो राजवृत्तः प्रमह^२श्चतुरङ्गलः ।
 आरग्वधो^३ऽथ ४सम्पाकः कृतमालः सुवर्णकः^५ ॥ सोनालि ।
 वरुणस्तित्तसारो^६ हि श्वेतवृक्षोऽम्भसा^७पतिः । व६ण ।
 रोहितकः^८ स्त्रीहशत्रुर्वरत्तित्तश्च^९ लोहितः ॥ रहङ्गा ।
 छत्रपत्रः शिवा^{१०} भूर्जो भूर्जपत्रः^{११} स्थिरच्छदः । भूर्जपत्र ।
 15 आनूपो हिज्जलश्चैव निचुलो^{१२} जलजस्तथा ॥ हिजल ।
 वेणी जीमूतकश्चाखुविष^{१३}जिल्लोमशच्छदः ।
 खरागरी देवदाली^{१४} खुड्डाको^{१५} देवताडकः ॥ देवताड ।
 सप्त र्णी^{१६} विशालत्वक्^{१७} शारदी विषमच्छदः । छातिन ।
 पिङ्गला पिच्छला^{१८} धीरा^{१९} कृष्णसारा च शिशपा ॥ शिशपा ।
 20 भद्रा च^{२०} मलपूः फल्गुः काकोडुम्बरिका तथा । डमुर ।
 यज्ञाङ्गो^{२१} विषवृक्षश्च हेमदुग्धो^{२२}ऽप्युडुम्बरः^{२३} ॥ उडुम्बर ।
 हिंसा^{२४} गृध्रनखी^{२५} गुल्मी^{२६} हाला^{२७} काकादनीत्यपि ।
 अहिंसा कटुकापाली^{२८} कापाली^{२९} कुलिको^{३०}ऽपरः ॥ कण्टपानि^{३१} ।
 पिप्पलो बांधिरश्वत्थश्चैत्रवृत्तो^{३२} गजाशनः । अश्वत्थ ।
 25 कुलिः कच्छः^{३३} कान्तलको^{३४} नन्दीवृक्षः कुबेरकः ॥ गयाश्वत्थ ।
 अजकजो^{३५} वनेसर्जो महासर्जोऽसन^{३६}स्तु सः । आसन ।
 धन्वी धनञ्जयः पार्थो नदीजः ककुभोऽर्जुनः ॥ अर्जुन ।
 शाखोटकः^{३७} पिशाचद्रु निर्यासी^{३८} खरपल्लवः ॥ शायङ्गा ।
 श्योनाको भूतिपुष्पश्च पूतवृत्तो मुनिद्रुमः ।

^१C. D. मथनो. ^२A.B.H. ग्रहस्तु. ^३A. B.-ग्रधो. ^४E. श- ^५B. C.-काः. D. omits आरग्वधो.... ^६C.शाखाह. VŚ. तित्तश्राकः. A.B.H.-साराह. ^७A.B.-स्तुसीपतिः. ^८A. हरि- B.E. F.H.रोही. ^९A. वर्धस्तित्त-... B.वर्धरत्तित्तश्च. E.वीर- ^{१०}C. सिभा. D.सितो. F.शिषो. ^{११}D. कृष- ^{१२}B.-बु- ^{१३}A.B.H.-वर्ष- C.-वृषसजो. ^{१४}B.कदम्बश्च. C.-तानि. ^{१५}E.खुडको.F.खुडाको. ^{१६}E.H.-र्णी. ^{१७}C. सारदि. ^{१८}C.-च्छ- ^{१९}B.C.D. वीरा. E.H. धारा. ^{२०}A.चा- ^{२१}B. वृष-D. अक्ष- ^{२२}C.D. E. VŚ.-पुष्पो. ^{२३}C. श्च पाण्डुरः. ^{२४}A.B.E.-स्त्री. ^{२५}A. H. गृहल- E. गृहल- B. गृध्रा. ^{२६}A.E. H.-स्मा. ^{२७}A.हलो. B.वनो. ^{२८}A.B.-पानी. E.-पानि. ^{२९}A.कपोनि. B.-णी. ^{३०}A.B.E.H. दनिकः. ^{३१}B. कुल्याकेवा. आशाङ्गा. सुतमयनीति केचित्. F. omits l.22, but has after l.23 हेवम्भा इडुषा तिवसा इडुषी वातनाशनी. ^{३२}VŚ.चैत्य- ^{३३}H.कङ्गा.C.कुलिकश्च.VŚ. F.कुलिकच्छः. ^{३४}B.-लोको, F.-लिको. ^{३५}A.B.-का- ^{३६}C.-रज- A.B.H.-सव- ^{३७}A.B.-को- ^{३८}A.B.-जो-

- 30 दीर्घवृन्तश्च कट्वङ्गो ^१भल्लुकष्टुण्डु^२कोरुणः ॥ सोना ।
 द्रुमोत्पलः कणिकारः परिठ्याधोऽङ्गनाप्रियः । कालियारि ।
 चिरविवो नक्तमालः करजश्च^३ करञ्जकः ॥ करञ्ज ।
 शीतद्रुः^४ सरलश्चापि क्षीरवान्^५ क्षीरमोरटः । कडार (क्षीरकडरी E.) ।
 पीलुपर्णी घनरसो हस्तिपर्णी^६ च मोरटः ॥ लताकडार (लतकडी E.) ।
- 35 पूतिपुष्पोऽङ्गारवृत्त इङ्गदी ^७तापसप्रियः । चालियापुइ ।
 धमन्यः^८ पिच्छिलत्वक् च धन्यवृक्षश्च धम्मरणः ॥ धामनावृक्ष ।
 कण्टकी रामकन्दश्च पिङ्गो सितशिराः^९ शमी ॥ समीवृक्ष ।
 राजादनो ब्रह्मवृक्षो हस्तिकर्णदलोऽपरः^{१०} ।
 वातपोतः^{११} पलाशः स्याद् वानप्रस्थो^{१२}ऽथ किंशुकः ॥ पलाश ।
- 40 आस्फोटकः सुगन्धश्च भूपलाशो विशाल्य^{१३}कृत् । भूपलाश ।
 तूलनी स्यात्तूलफला तथा मोची च शाल्मली ॥ शिमली ।
 नीलभण्टः^{१४} पीतसालो^{१५} जीवकः^{१६} प्रियकोऽसनः^{१७} । पियाशाल ।
 धवो धुरन्धरो वृक्षः शकटाक्षः सितो^{१८}ऽसितः ॥ धववृत्त ।
 लक्षः कमण्डलुवृक्षः पकटी लक्ष्मणो जटी^{१९} । जड़ी वृत्त ।
- 45 महावृत्तास्त्रयास्त्रिशत्पर्यायैः परिकीतिताः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां न्यग्रोधादिमहावृक्षवर्गश्चतुर्दशः ॥ १४ ॥

[पञ्चदशो मध्यमवृक्षवर्गः]

- नन्दीवृक्षदलीन^{२०}केन्द्रसुरस^{२१}द्राक्षायणीकाण्डिनी—
 क्षीरीकाञ्चनहेमजीवकसुया^{२२}ब्राह्मोसमङ्गाम्बरैः^{२३} ।
 कम्बूक^{२४}क्रकरद्विवृत्तरुवुकानन्तार्कपुष्पा^{२५}लुकै—
 नार्डीचर्मकषाजलोम^{२६}हरितैः प्रोक्तास्तु मध्य^{२७}द्रुमाः ॥
- 5 नन्दीवृत्त स्ताम्रपाकी ^२फलेपाकी कपीतनः ।
 गड्ढभाण्डो गन्धमुण्डो ^{२८}द्वितीयः क्षिप्रपाक्यपि ॥ गड्ढमुण्डो ।

^१A.B.ऊ. H. उ. ^२A. दृण्डुको. B. स्तुण्डु. D. स्तुण्डु. ^३C.-ऊ भ. ^४F. पीत. H. सित. ^५B.क्षीरवह्नीश्व. ^६C.-कर्णी ^७A. B. युहुदस्तपसाप्रियः. ^८A.H.-ना. ^९A.B.-न्या. ^{१०}A.B. शीतशिरा.C.सीतसिर.D.-शिरः. VŚ. सितशिवा. ^{११}D.-वक्रपुष्पः पलाशकः. Lines 38 and 39 appear reversed in Ratna. ^{१२}E.-थ. ^{१३}C. वारणस्थो तु. ^{१४}D.-प. A.B.-शा. ^{१५}F.-कण्डः. ^{१६}A.B.F.-शा. ^{१७}B.वाग्निके.E.वीजकः. ^{१८}C.F.-श. ^{१९}A.B.E.H.शितोऽसितः. ^{२०}A.B.H.लक्ष्मणो गिरिः.E.जडी. ^{२१}C.-रके. ^{२२}B.F.रसा. E.-रसी.D.-स दाक्षा ^{२३}A.भाची.E.भागो. ^{२४}A.B.C.H.वरैः. ^{२५}A.B.C.-कः क्र. ^{२६}B.-प्येव.C.-लकै. ^{२७}B.जोहितैः. ^{२८}All except D.दृस्व. ^{२९}D.काञ्च. F. कम्बूकाञ्च. ^{३०}D. पञ्चपेशः. E.दु.

- शाकवृक्षो हलीनश्च महापत्रोऽजुनोपमः^१ । सेगुन ।
 इन्द्राणी^२ चेन्द्रसुरसो^३ निगुण्डी सिन्धुवारकः ॥ बोयानी^४ ।
 चित्रा दन्ती निकुम्भः स्यादुपचित्रा मकूनकः^५ ।
 10 'द्राक्षायणी विशल्या^७ च तथोडुम्बर^८पर्येपि ॥ दन्ती ।
 'सशल्या पवेपुष्पो^{१०} तु नागदन्ती विषौषधिः^{११} ।
 शुक्लपुष्पे^{१२}भदन्त्याह्वा काण्डिनी रामदूतिका ॥ नागदन्ती ।
 क्षीरी^{१३}सबरकन्दाख्यः स्नुक्^{१४}छदः कुष्ठनाशनः ।
 बल्यो^{१५} मूलकमूलाभः^{१६}खटीकन्दस्तु कञ्चुकी ॥ क्षीरकञ्चुकी^{१७} ।
 15 सारको जयपालश्च रेचकी^{१८} तन्तिडीफलम् ।
 घण्टाबीजं चक्रदन्ती^{१९}कुम्भी कनकसंज्ञकम्^{२०} ॥ कनकफल ।
 'धूस्तुरको शठो धूर्तं उन्मत्तः कनकाह्वयः । धूतुरा ।
 'कुमारी जीवसंज्ञोऽयं^{२३}सपुत्रो जीवको द्रुमः ॥ जिड ।
 स्नुही समन्तदुग्धा स्नुक् वज्र^{२४}वृक्षः सुधा गुडः^{२५} । सिम्भ ।
 20 पद्मा गद्भ^{२६}शाका च^{२७}फाञ्जकाङ्गार^{२८}पर्येपि ।
 भार्गी^{२९} स्याज् यष्टिका ब्राह्मी ब्राह्मणी^{३०}पद्मचारिणी ॥ वामुनआटि ।
 नमस्कारी गण्डकारी^{३१} समङ्गा खदिरेत्यापि ॥ वराहक्रान्ता ।
 तुण्डिकेरी समुद्रान्ता कार्पासी^{३२}बदराम्बरा । कार्पास ।
 त्रिपर्णी वनकार्पासी भारद्वाजी वनोद्भवा ॥ वनकापास ।
 25 हयगन्धाश्वगन्धाख्या वाजिगन्धाश्वगन्धकः ।
 बल्या^{३३} तुरगगन्धा च कम्बुका^{३४}श्वावरोहकः ॥ अश्वगन्धा ।
 'अष्ट्रभक्षे करारे तु क्रकरप्रान्थलाबुभौ । करिल ।
 तिमिरको दन्तशुद्धि^{३६} द्विवृन्तो^{३७} नखरञ्जकः ॥ मञ्जोयाति ।

^१A.B.H.-नः समः. ^२A.B.H.-नि.C.-निरचे. ^३A.सुरिसो.B.शुरिषो C.-स्युविषो. ^४C.बेगुना.
^५A.सुकु.B.H.मुकु.-E.F.मुकु.-D.-गुरेवती. ^६D.दा-. ^७A.B.-बल्या-. ^८A.H.-मुर-. ^९D.F.वि-. ^{१०}A.
 B.F.H.-प्या. ^{११}B.C.D.-धी. ^{१२}A B.-प्यो तदन्त्याह्वा. ^{१३}A.B.H.सर्वं. E.सवकरआ-. A.C.
 -ब्या. ^{१४}A.सुक-. C.खक्. ^{१५}A.बाख्यो.E.वाप्यो. B.रसो. C.-बाल्या. F.वन्म्यो. ^{१६}A.कटि. E.कटि.
 B.खाटि.-F.खर-. VŚ. reads the following names here: क्षीरीशः वरपर्यः स्नुक्छदः
 कुष्ठनाशनः बल्यो मूलकमूला खसकन्दः कञ्चुकी. क्षीर कञ्चुकी. ^{१८}VŚ. रेचकः. ^{१९}C.-दन्ता कुम्भ-
^{२०}D.omits क्षीरी... ^{२१}B.E.F.-स्तु-. ^{२२}C.-मरी. ^{२३}C.F VŚ. सु-. ^{२४}C.रजवृक्षा.B. समन्तदुग्धा
 कण्टश्च स्नुही... ^{२५}Mss गुहा or गृहा Text on VŚ.,D.&F. ^{२६}A.C. पद्मगन्धम A -शाखा.
 C.-सखा. B.पद्मगन्धस्तथा पद्मा... ^{२७}A.ख-. F.पश्चिका-. G. भृङ्गजा- ^{२८}F.-बल्यपि. ^{२९}C.भाङ्गि.
^{३०}D.-H. ब्रह्म-. ^{३१}B.-क्षी. C. तु. ^{३२}C.-रदासुरा. ^{३३}A. वन्या. B.H.-कम्पा. ^{३४}A.B.-कम्पा-
 H.कुम्भकम्पा-. ^{३५}A. उष्णभाष.B.उष्णताषः. VŚ.-भक्ष्ये. ^{३६}C.-दहयदुश्च. E.F. तिमिरको दण्डकम्.
 (F.-दभयदम्). G. तिमिरः कोकदन्ता च. ^{३७}B. वृन्तको.

- आमण्डो वद्धमानः स्यादेरण्डो रुवुको वुकः^१ ।
 30 गन्धर्वो^२ हस्तकश्चित्रो वातारिस्तरुणो रुवुः ॥ एरण्डः^३ ।
 स्वर्णक्षीरी त्वनन्ता च हेमक्षीरी भव[री]^४ सहा ।
 हेमाद्रिजा^५ हेमशिखा हेमपीतवृच तत्पयः ॥ हेमाद्रिजा ख्यात ।
 पयस्या सूर्यवल्ली^६ च पीत^७पर्यर्कपुष्पका । एकलविरा ।
 स्यन्दनस्तिनिसो^८ नेम(र)^९अक्षी^{१०}कश्चात्तुकोच्छुकः^{११} ॥ आचु[आछु E.] ।
 35 हिङ्गुपर्णी वेणुपत्री नाडीहिङ्गु^{१२} शिवाटिका । हिङ्गुपत्री ।
 सप्तला स्या^{१३}बर्मकषा चर्मसंज्ञा च सातला^{१४} ॥ चामरकसा ।
 अजलोमा^{१५} शिखा केशी मदाह्रस्वा^{१६}प्रपर्ययपि । केशी ।
 अल्पकेशी^{१७} तु गोलोमी भूतकेशी च केशयपि^{१८} ॥ भूतकेशी ।
 काशीसं^{१९} धातुकाशीसं^{२०} हरितं तच्च लोहितम्^{२१} । काशीस ।
 40 द्वितीयं पुष्पकाशीसं सुशीतवृच सितञ्च^{२२} यत् ॥ पुष्पकाशीस ।
 सप्तविंशतिपर्यायैः समाप्तो मध्यपादपः^{२३} ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां नन्दीवृत्तादिमध्य^{२४}वृत्तवर्गः पञ्चदशः ॥ १५ ॥

[षोडशो ह्रस्ववृत्तवर्गः]

- दृक्वा^{२५}मुष्ककशल्ल^{२६}पोटगल^{२७}कच्छत्रासहान्तर्गलैः^{२८}
 राष्ट्रीजुणैःसुगन्धदेवकुसुमैः लुद्रे^{२९}पुदण्ड.त्पलैः ।
 लीहृष्णीधमनेत्कटाम्बुतलजा^{३०}घण्टारवाभ्रावभित्
 काशानिज्जु^{३१}मधूलिकुक्कुटिकुशैः प्रोक्तास्तु ह्रस्व^{३२}द्रुमाः ॥
 5 सहस्रवीर्या दृक्वा^{३३} तु मङ्गल्या भार्गवी रुहा ॥ दृवा ।
 शतपत्रा सिता^{३४} दृवा^{३५} शतत्रीर्या सिता कचिन् । श्वेतदृवा ।
 अघण्टापाटलिका चारद्रु^{३६}मुष्कः कालमुष्कः । मुनमुनिया^{३७} ।
 गजाशना^{३८} सुपत्री च शल्लकी सुरभिस्त्रवा^{३९} ॥ शारला^{४०} ।

^१A. B. H. रुवु. F. S. वुकः. ^२A. H. F. -व्वं-. ^३C. गाव. ^४F. भरं, which may be read also in E. ^५B. E. माद्रिजा. ^६C. -सूर्य-. ^७F. सित-. E. शीतवत्स्य-. A. B. -जि-. ^८E. नेमी. ^९C. -वृ-. ^{१०}A. B. -वुकः. E. -व्वुकः. ^{११}B. शी-. C. सि-. ^{१२}A. B. H. -जा. ^{१३}B. F. G. -शी-. C. साति-. ^{१४}B. C. -म. V. S. शिखी. ^{१५}A. -द्रुष्मा-. B. द्रु. जा-. C. द्रु. स्वाप-. G. प्रपर्ययपि. ^{१६}B. -पी-. ^{१७}B. -व्य-. ^{१८}C. -शि-. ^{१९}C. -कासीरं. ^{२०}A. C. E. H. लोमसं. ^{२१}A. F. शि-. ^{२२}All except D. ह्रस्व-. ^{२३}All except D. ह्रस्व-. ^{२४}D. -व्वकीपो. . ^{२५}A. B. H. -गन-. ^{२६}A. -हृलैः. B. -हृनैः. ^{२७}A. B. C. -जुद-. ^{२८}A. D. F. G. H. तनुजा. B. -न-. C. भस्त्रजा. ^{२९}A. B. -लेजु. D. -नेजु. ^{३०}All except D. and E. हीन-. ^{३१}A. B. F. H. शिता. ^{३२}A. B. सितपर्या. F. H. शीत-. ^{३३}C. F. -वो-. ^{३४}C. वनशोना. ^{३५}A. -जगलास-. F. G. रवपुत्री. ^{३६}A. F. H. -जवा. C. -भु. वा. ^{३७}C. शोना.

- पोटगलो^१ बृहत्कासः^२ काण्डेक्षुः शरस्वङ्गकः^३ । खागङ्गा ।
- 10 मूले पत्रे वचाकारश्छत्रातिछत्रकः समौ ॥ चिना (F.G. टिणा) ।
गोवन्दना^४ गन्धवल्ली सहदेवा सदा च सा । सहदेवा ।
शुक्रला चामुपत्रास्यादर्गाटोऽन्तर्गलो^५ मतः ॥ ओकङ्गा (आगङ्गा) ।
महाराष्ट्री च राष्ट्री च रकारिः^६ कटुपुष्पिका । महाराष्ट्री ।
सूच्यप्रः स्थूलकां दर्भो^७ जुर्णाख्यश्च खरच्छदः ॥ जुनघास^८ ।
- 15 कूलतृणं^९ सुगन्धश्च तृणशून्यं^{१०} सुशीतलम् । नाकदना ।
अवाक्पुष्पी^{११} त्वधः^{१२} पुष्पी मङ्गल्यामरपुष्पिका ॥ हेठाढली^{१३} (१-उली F.) ।
क्षुद्रा घुलश्चो^{१४} गोजिह्वा गुन्द्रा^{१५} गुत्थः^{१६} ॥ गवेधुका । गरगङ्गा ।
इषुः^{१७} काण्डः शरो वाणो मुञ्ज^{१८} स्तेजनगुद्मकौ^{१९} ॥ शर ।
दण्डोत्पला सितैः पुष्पै विश्व^{२०} देवाः स्युस्तु सा । दाण्डपला ।
- 20 स्त्रीदन्ती^{२१} शरपुंखा च नीली स्यान्नीलपत्रिका ॥ शरपुंखा ।
नलस्तु धमनः पोटगलो^{२२} दीर्घसमुच्छ्रयः^{२३} । नल ।
इत्कटो^{२४} बहुमूलश्च वाटी^{२५} दीर्घखरच्छदः ॥ इकङ्गा ।
कुम्भिका^{२६} वारिपरिणी च इठः^{२७} पानीयपृष्ठजा ॥ टोकापाना ।
वृहत्पुष्पी शणो^{२८} घण्टारवा^{२९} तु शणपुष्पिका^{३०} । शनपाट ।
- 25 महाशणो^{३१} नल्पपुष्पी वामनी कटुतक्तका ॥ महाशन ।
पाषाणभेदो ग्रावारिः^{३२} शिलाभेदोऽश्मभित्ता । कुलत्थ ।
वायुसेक्षुश्च काण्डेक्षुः कास^{३३} श्चामरपुष्पिका ॥ काशी ।
इक्ष्वा^{३४} लिक्क्षुतुल्या स्यादनिक्षश्चेक्षुवालिता । आनाखु ।
मधुनि घृतमण्डा च वायसानी सुमङ्गला^{३५} ॥ मालकांकाङ्गया ।
- 30 उत्कटे^{३६} बहुलिङ्गः^{३७} स्यात् सेवोत्ता^{३८} कुक्कटिः^{३९} क्वचित् । बदवङ्गा ।
^{३९}याज्ञिको ह्रस्ववृत्तः^{४०} अर्द्धिर्द्धर्भः कुशः कुथः ॥ कुश ।

^१A.B.-ला. ^२B.-वः. VŚ.F.-शः. ^३A.B.H.-का. ^४A.-न्यना. F.G. गोविन्द नागवल्ली च.
^५C.-र्दाटो.VŚ.अद्याटः. ^६A.भकुनामतः.B. भद्रनामक. C.-गणो(?). ŚK., s.v. उच्चटा, gives
its synonyms from Ratna. : अम्बुपत्रा, जटिला, शुक्रला, उत्तानकः. VŚ., s.v. अर्थाटः,
cites from Dravyābhidhāna: शुक्रला चामुपत्रः स्यादर्थाटोऽन्यटिलो मतः. ^७C.-री
^८C.-जू. या. VŚ.-जूनाथः. F.जू. ^९B. केचित् उलु. ^{१०}A.B.कुसुमनः. H.I. कुसुमनः असगन्धश्च. ^{११}C.
सुष्यं सुसीतलं तथा. Mss.तृणशून्यं ^{१२}A.B अर्कः. ^{१३}A.H.दुग्ध. B.वग्ध. C.-नक्षत्रपु. ^{१४}C.चोरहुली.
^{१५}B. नाञ्जो.C.-लुम्बा. ^{१६}C.गुत्थी.A.B.C. गुन्द्रा. Cf. Ratna. ^{१७}A.तुथ. B. तुर्थ. H.I. गुर्थ. ^{१८}A.B.
C.F.H इक्षु. ^{१९}A.B.C.मुक्तः. ^{२०}A.B.C. गुन्द्रकौ. ^{२१}C.विश्वे. ^{२२}A.B.H.-न्न. ^{२३}A.पोदा. B.पोदाग्यो.
^{२४}B.-समुंअयः.VŚ.समुअयः.A.-अयः.C.H.I.omit this line. ^{२५}A. उक. B. इक. ^{२६}A.वटी.VŚ.
also वाटी. ^{२७}A.B. कारा विप. ^{२८}A.B. पानी च.A.-पुष्पिका. F.G. हठा. ^{२९}B.C. सन्ना.A.शन. VŚ.
everywhere शणो. ^{३०}A.-वरा. ^{३१}B.C.सन.-A शन.-C.-पत्रिका. ^{३२}Mss.-शानो.F.नीलपुष्पा. ^{३३}A.H.
ग्रामारिः.B.ग्रामधि. ^{३४}C.-च.D.F.-शः. ^{३५}A.B.-चानि.-C.-चमा.॥ F.G. मधुली&वायसानी. ^{३६}A.B.
G.उच्चटैव कु. VŚ.-लिङ्गा. F. उच्चटो बहुलिङ्गी. ^{३७}A.F. सरको. ^{३८}A.B.H. कुक्कटः. VŚ.F.
कुक्कुटी. ^{३९}A.B.चाङ्गि. ^{४०}D.-नाभरच.

ह्रस्ववृत्तगणः प्रोक्तः समविशतिकैर्द्रुमैः ॥

इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां दूर्वादिह्रस्ववृत्तवर्गः षोडशः ॥१६॥

[सप्तदशो लतावर्गः]

ताम्बूलीवृषभीशुकास्यसुवहा^१मौर्वीसुनन्दासहा—

^४पालि^२दी^३च्छगलाश्वकर्ण^४श्रृषजाकिपाकधामार्गवैः ।

ब्रीडैन्द्रोत्रिवृतोत्तमास्थिशमनी^५वेगीससर्पाक्षिभिः

संक्षेपात् परिकीर्तितः क्रमतयास्माभिर्लतानां गणः ॥

5 ताम्बूलवल्ली ताम्बूली नागवल्त्योष्ठरञ्जनी^७ ॥ पान ।

^६मर्कटो कण्डुराध्यगडा स्वगुप्ता कच्छुरा^८ जडा ।

शूक^९शिम्बात्मगुप्ता स्याद् ^{११}वृषभी कपिकच्छुका ॥ आलकुशी ।

शुकाख्या स्याच्छुकनासा^{१०} सुसंख्या^{१२} च शुकानना । शुयाठटि ।

गोधावल्ली तु सुवहा^{१३} त्रिदला हंसपद्यपि ॥ गोहाजिया ।

10 ^{१४}मौर्वी नेत्रौषधः स्यादावत्तिनी^{१५}न्दीवरीत^{१६} सा । उत्तरोली ।

अर्कपत्रा ^{१७}सुनन्दा स्यादकमूला विषापहा ॥ इश्वरमूल ।

^{१८}सिंहपुच्छी श्रृषप्रोक्ता माषपर्णी महासहा ।

कृष्णधृन्ता च काम्भोजा^{१९} पाण्डुलो^{२०}मशपण्येपि ॥ माषपर्णी ।

मुद्गपर्णी क्षुद्रसहा मुद्गाह्नी^{२१} सिम्बपर्ण्यपि ।

15 अन्या मार्जारगन्धेति सूपपर्ण्यावुभे च ते^{२२} ॥ मुद्गपर्णी ।

कालमेषो महाश्यामा सुभद्रोत्पलशारिवा^{२३} । श्यामालता ।

गोपवल्ली कराला च सुगन्धा भद्रवल्लिका^{२४} ॥ अनन्तमूल ।

श्वेत^{२५}बुद्धान्तपीडस्तु यवतिक्ता विसर्पणी ।

^{२६}शंखिनी सा कचिच्चान्या गिरिजा धूसरच्छदा ॥ श्वेतबुद्धान्ता ।

20 नीलिनी छगलान्त्री स्यादन्तः^{२७}कोटरपुष्पयपि ।

अजान्त्री नीलबुद्धान्ता^{२८} स्यान्नीलपुष्पा तिलोपमा ॥ नीलबुद्धान्ता ।

^{२९}ताक्षर्योऽश्वकर्णः कुशिको^{३०} वन्यो^{३१} दीर्घनताद्रुमः । सियाडि ।

^१ + ^२ All except D. हीन- ^३ B. सुरहामोरि. ^४ A. पानीन्धी. B. पानिन्दी. ^५ D. करला. ^६ D. F. G. माशनिखता- ^७ A. B. - रक्तनी. l. - लस्यहिषयपि. ^८ A. य- D. क- ^९ A. - छुरा ^{१०} H. शूक- F. - शिम्ब्या- ^{११} B. रू- H. श्रृष- A. B. शुक्लनाशा. G. - नामा. ^{१२} F. G. शुकास्या. VS. सुशक्या. ^{१३} B. सुर- F. गोप- ... त्रिपदी. ^{१४} A. मोरि. ^{१५} VS. वत्तिनी. ^{१६} A. B. H. - त्रिभिवति. ^{१७} A. स- ^{१८} B. सिंह- ^{१९} F. G. H. जी. ^{२०} A. B. माष- VS. पाण्डुलो मशपण्यिनी. ^{२१} F. मौद्गिका शिम्बपर्णिका. ^{२२} A. H. - भीष्यते. ^{२३} B. सा- ^{२४} B. - मल्लि- F. H. have after this गोपभद्रा च सानन्ता नागजिह्वा च शारिवा. F. also adds दीर्घमूला तु पालिन्दी मसूरा विदजा च सा to l. 16 and reverses the order of ll. 16 and 17. ^{२५} A. वदना B. वृद्धान्ता. VS. बुद्धान्ता. ^{२६} A. ख- B. स- ^{२७} B. कोठ- ^{२८} A. वदना. B. बुद्धान्ता. ^{२९} A. E. H. लोचयो. ^{३०} D. श्रृषिको. VS. श्रृषिकं. ^{३१} B. D. F. वन्यो.

- 'ऋक्षगन्धा सर्पगन्धा ऋषिजा'^१[ङ्गलिक]स्तथा ॥ सर्पगन्धा ।
 उरुकालो महाकालः किपाकः^२काकमर्दकः ॥ महाकाल ।
 25 धामागवः पीतघोषा^३राजघोषातकी^४ तथा ।
 कर्कोटका महाजाली क्ष्वेडःकोष^५फला च सा ॥ पीतपुष्प घोषावनी (F.उली)।
 प्रीडा कुलाली चक्षुष्या कुम्भकारी कुलस्थिका^६ । चन्द्रखिरा^७ ।
 [हस्तिकोलि^{१०}गोपघण्टा] घण्टापि^{११} बदरिच्छदः ॥ हाथियाकोलि ।
 ऐन्द्रीन्द्रवारुणी चित्रा गवाक्षी गजविभ्रमा^{१२} ।
 30 मृगेवरुः^{१३} पिटङ्कोटी^{१४} विशाला च मृगादनी ॥ राखालशशा ।
 त्रिवृद्वृ^{१५}काक्षी सुवहा^{१६} त्रिभण्डी त्रिपुटी च सा ।
 ब्राह्मोदनी^{१७} कुटरसा^{१८} १८[निःसृता] त्रिवृताक्षणा ॥ तिडङ्गि ।
 उत्तमा दुग्धिका^{१९}युग्मफलोत्तम^{२०}फलिन्यसौ ॥ दुधियादालि ।
 वज्रवल्लयस्थिसंहारो ग्रन्थिमान् कुलिशाह्वयः^{२१} ॥ हाइजोडा ।
 35 जुङ्ग^{२२}क्षगन्धा छगलान्त्र्या^{२३}वेगी वृद्धदारकः । बीजताडक ।
 सर्पसहा सर्पनामा सर्पाक्षी सर्पघातिनी ॥ जजाङ्ग ।
 सपे^{२४}कङ्कालिका चान्या विषदंष्ट्रा विषापहा ।
 पञ्चविंशतिवीरु^{२५}द्वर्लतावर्गः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां ताम्बूलादिलतावर्गः सप्तदशः ॥ १७ ॥

[अष्टादशः शिव्भीशूकधान्यवर्गः]

- हरेणुनिष्पावमसूरमुद्गातिलाढकां^{२६}माषकराजमाषाः ।
 कुलत्थकोशिम्ब^{२७} च^{२८}शिम्बधान्यं^{२९}शूकन्तु गोधूमयवाश्महादि ।
 हरेणु^{३०}मु^{३१}एडचणकः^{३२}खाण्डकश्च सतीलकः^{३३} । बडचना ।
 चनको हारमन्थः स्यात् कञ्चुकी^{३४}कृष्णवृत्तुकः^{३५} ॥ छोला ।
 5 लङ्का रसाली^{३६} त्रिपुटी^{३७} कलाया^{३८}रुक्षणात्मका । कालछोला ।

^१D. F.G. रुष-^२A.B.H. ऋषिकाञ्चानि- D. -जाञ्जनि- F.-काञ्जनि- G.-काञ्जलिका-
^३B.D. कास- A. कासमन्दक-^४A. B. H. राजा- D. राजकोशातकी-^५B. तथा परा-^६A.B.H. चोडघोष-^७A. B. H. -लक्षिका-^८D. वनकुलत्थ-^९Mss. हस्तिका सोपघण्टा स्याद्-^{१०}F. हस्तिको गोप-
 G. हस्तिकासोपघण्टा-^{११}A.F.H. घण्टा (F. घण्टा) शिवपरिच्छदः-^{१२}F.-चिद्भटी-^{१३}A.-वारो-^{१४}B.-चोटी- H. पिडाङ्काटी-^{१५}B.H.-वद्ध-^{१६}A.B. सुरहा-^{१७}B. ब्राह्मो- D.F. व्याघ्रा- H. ब्रह्मा-^{१८}A. कटुरना- F. कटरणा-^{१९}B. निःस्रत्वः बुता- F. निश्चदा- H. निःश्रुता-^{२०}A. युग्मं- B.H. युग्मं-
^{२१}A.B.H. पलोत्तमकरियसौ- Text on F.G. and V.S. ^{२२}D - शोऽमरः-^{२३}A.B. युगाचि- D. जुङ्गा-^{२४}A.-खान्धा- B.-जाद्व्या-^{२५}A.-काङ्का-^{२६}H.-चकी-^{२७}B.-सि-^{२८}A.B. सि-^{२९}A.A.H. शो- B सो-^{३०}A.B.म-^{३१}A.B.चन-^{३२}D...ब्रीहिः कृष्णादिकारमरी- G.I. सतीलक-^{३३}B.-च्युकी-^{३४}V.S. कृष्णचूरकः- F.-चूडकः- Cf. R. कृष्णचञ्चुकः and-कञ्चुकः-^{३५}B.-शानि- A.-सानी- F. G. खङ्गा-
^{३६}B.-यो- F.G.-या-^{३७}B. च-

- निष्पावः 'स्थूलशिम्बी स्यान्माध्वीकश्च' पलंकवः ॥ शिम्ब ।
 अन्यस्तु मधुनिष्पावो [नन्दजो,^१ हैमनस्तथा । मकुटशिम,^२
 तद्भेदाः श्यामला रक्तराजिका लोहिताः सिताः ।
 सुकुमारा वृन्तजीवा^३ दीर्घशिम्बा मधुक्षराः ॥ शिम्बभेदः ।
- 10 मङ्गल्यको मसूरश्च शर्माह्वः^४ पृथुबीजकः । मसूर ।
 'शारदश्च हरिन्मुद्गो' वर्णाहो^५ धरणीफलः ॥ मुग ।
 कृष्णमुद्गस्तु वासन्तो माधवश्च सुराष्ट्रजः^६ । कृष्णमुग ।
 मुद्गष्ठश्च^७ मकुष्ठश्च वनमुद्गः क्रमीलकः ॥ वनमुग ।
 स्नेहगर्भस्तिः पैत्रः^८ पवित्रो होमधान्यकम् । तिल ।
- 15 तिलपिण्डी तिल^९मलः पिण्याकः^{१०} स्तिलकल्कजः ॥ तिलपेड़ा ।
 कृष्णला तुवरी वर्या^{११} करवीरभुजाढकी^{१२} । टोडरि ।
 'मदगन्धा हैमवती' सुर्नाला पिच्छला तु सा ॥ अतसीछोला ।
 माषस्तु कुरुविन्दः^{१३} स्याद् धान्यवीरो वृषाकरः^{१४} । ब्रीहि ।
 राजमाषो लसान्द्रः^{१५} स्यान्नीलमाषो नृपोचितः ॥ वरवटी^{१६} ।
- 20 स्याद्^{१७} यावकस्तु कुलमाषस्ताम्रबीजः कुलत्थकः । कुलत्थ ।
 महासिम्बी तु कोसिम्बी^{१८} मधुरा च शृगालिनी^{१९}ारम्भा । इति शिम्बीधान्यम्
 गोधूमो^{२०} यवनो^{२१}स्पृष्टो [स्पृष्टो ?] निम्बुषः सुमनो^{२२} वृषः । गम ।
 बहुदुग्धो भवेदन्यो गोधूमो मुच्छभोजनः ॥ तृणगोधूम ।
 सितशूको यवो मेध्यस्तीक्ष्णशूकश्च कच्छपी^{२३} [कच्छुकी ?] । यव ।
- 25 †बहुप्रियोऽतिशूकश्च तोक^{२४}[क्य^{२५}?]श्च हरितो यवः ॥ यवभेद ।
 शैत्यः^{२६} सितो बृहद्धान्यं क्षत्रेक्षुश्चाश्मरीरिपुः । जषण (जनादि) ।

^१A.D. स्थूलः. A.B.-सिम्ब. ^२B.-दीकरय. ^३B.-नन्दियो ह- A. नन्तियो. F. नन्दीयो. H. निन्दियो. VŚ. नन्दनः. Text on Kk. and MW. ^४F.-बीजा. H. वृन्द-. ^५A.B.H.सर्माह्व F.शर्माह्वः. ^६A. B. सा-. ^७A.-प्लज्जो. B.-मदो. D. हरिनामा. ^८B.वानीहो. H.वाणाहो. ^९A. चविशी-. B.चविसि-. D. VŚ. धुरणी-. Cf. भूफलः, Kk. and R. in VŚ. ^{१०}A. सुरणिणकः. B. सुराष्ट्रकः. ^{११}B.मुगा-. ^{१२}A.मोत्यः. B.मैपेः VŚ. पैत्रः. F.पैत्र्यः. ^{१३}A.B.H.क्रिलः. A.-मनः. ^{१४}F.G. पिण्याकः. ^{१५}A.B. कवरीमुजा. VŚ.-वीरो. ^{१६}A.-टकी. ^{१७}A. B. मुद-. H मुद्ग-. ^{१८}A.स्वनि-. B.स्वनि-. R. records all these terms under अतसी. ^{१९}A.B.H.-विह्वः. ^{२०}D. VŚ.रलेन्द्रः. A.B.लषान्द्र. Ratna. in VŚ., लसान्द्रः, and Suśruta I. 46.35, ऽबसान्द्रः. V.अबसान्द्रः. ^{२१}B.रमाकलाह. ^{२२}A.B.वा-. ^{२३}D.F.कौशम्बी. G.H.कौशम्बी. VŚ.कोषाम्बी. ^{२४}D.F. G.बुगादनी. ^{२५}A.B.मा-. ^{२६}B.यवलो. D. VŚ.जमलो. ^{२७}A.B.स्तुमनो. ^{२८}B.H.कक्षुवी. D.कक्षुरिः. F.G. कक्षुरः. †F.वाह-. ^{२९}A. H तोडा-. Kk. तोडा or स्तोकाः. G.F.स्तोकाः. ^{३०}A.शैत्यः शीवो. B. शैत्य सितो. D. and VŚ. शैत्यशीतो. ^{३१}Mss.-सारव. F.सोवपःशितो. G.स्ववपःशितो. F. interchanges 26-27 and 22-23.

तुवरो यावनः कृष्णयावनालस्तु शारदः ॥ कालजेष्य ॥ इति शूकधान्यम् ॥
चतुर्विंशतिभिः शिम्बीशूकधान्यगणो मतः ॥
इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां हरेणुकादिशिम्बीधान्यशूकधान्यवर्गोऽष्टादशः^१ ॥१८॥

[ऊर्नावंशरत्नधान्यवर्गः]

- श्यामाकनीवारककङ्कु^२चानवंशोत्थनन्दीमुखकोद्रवादि ।
तृणाल्यधान्यं नृपभोज्यषष्टिमहोमगन्धादि च शालि^३धान्यम् ।
श्यामाकस्तृणबीजः स्यात्तृणमुद्ग^४स्त्ववि^५प्रयः । शायधान्य ।
ओही^६ नीवार उदितो मुनीष्ट^७ वन्यधान्यकम् ॥ वालुङ्गा ।
- 5 स्थूलकङ्कुश्च कङ्कुश्च^८ वरकश्च प्रियङ्गुकः^९ । काङ्कु ।
चीनो^{१०} भद्रावकः प्रोक्तो^{११} कालाङ्गो लघुपाक्याप ॥ चिना धान्य ।
वेणुजो^{१२} वंशधान्यं स्याद् वैणवो^{१३} वंशतण्डुलः ॥ वांसधान्य ।
नन्दीमुखो बहुफलो लाञ्छुलं^{१४} कालकस्तथा ।
^{१५}मधूलिहरिताया^{१६}श्च देशभेदात् पृथग्विधाः ॥ तद्भेदाः ।
- 10 कोद्रवः^{१७} कोरदूषश्च कुहालो^{१८} मदनप्रकः^{१९} । कोद ।
तद्भेदः कोद्रवोऽन्यः स्यादुद्दालो^{२०} वनकोद्रवः । सानकोदः ॥ इति तृणधान्यम् ॥
धान्यं^{२१} शालि भोजनार्हं भोग्यश्च शिवधान्यकम् । शालि ।
धान्यश्रेष्ठं राजधान्यं नृपार्हं राजशूककम्^{२२} ॥ राजशालि ।
षष्टिवासरजः शालिः षष्टिकः स्निग्धतण्डुलः । पाठिधान ।
- 15 स्थूलशालिर्महाशालिः शालिराट् स्थूलतण्डुलः ॥
वीरतरो^{२३} वीरवृक्षो बृहद्धान्यो^{२४}ऽश्मरीरिपुः । बड़धान्य ।
गन्धशालिस्तु कुल्माषो^{२५} गन्धालुः^{२६} कलमोत्तमः^{२७} । गन्धधान्य ।
^{२८}रक्ताणुमुण्डकलमव्रीही^{२९}कृष्णादिकाश्च षट्^{३०} ॥ शालिभेदः ।

^१A.B.-दशमः. ^२A. कङ्कु. B. कङ्कु. ^३A. शाल्य. B. शालि. ^४B. सुद. A. मूर्द्धो. ^५D. हरि.
^६A. ओही. ^७B. धन्य. ^८B.H. कङ्कु. ^९A.-ङ्गकः. ^{१०}A. भद्र. B. भद्रारिकः. ^{११}A.B.H. क. F. कणा.
^{१२}A. वंशजाधा. B. रसजाधा. ^{१३}A.B. वेण. ^{१४}Charaka 1. 27.8, लाञ्छुलः. A. नाञ्चन. B. काञ्चकसाया.
F.G. लाञ्छनं कणिक. ^{१५}B. मधुलि. Charaka 1. 27.22, मधुली. F. मधुलं. ^{१६}A. H. -हवताशा.
^{१७}A.B. कोदुषश्च. ^{१८}B.H. कुदलो A. कुचुलो. ^{१९}A.B. H. -द्रकः. F. कुदलोमा शनिद्रकः. ^{२०}A. मुदनो नव-
^{२१}B. ला. ^{२२}A.-लककं. F.G.- शालिक. VŚ. शूककम् ^{२३}A.B.-तार. F.G. omit the line,
which seems to be out of place here. ^{२४}A. बृहन्त्य. VŚ. अश्मरीप्रियः. ^{२५}Mss. गुहमथ
(स्व). ^{२६}B.-यु. ^{२७}A. कलि. B. कण. D.VŚ. कलिको. ^{२८}Mss. रक्तास्तु मण्ड. F. लुमण्डकमल. G.
-मुण्डकमल. ^{२९}A. ब्रीहो. ^{३०}A. स्तुवि. B.H.-शुरि. G.-श्मरि. D's reading of 18.3, second
pāda, would suggest the text here to have been. ... कलमा व्रीहिः कृष्णादिकारमरी.
Cf. R.16.78-80.

- रक्तशालिस्ताम्रशालिः शोणशालिश्च लोहितः । रक्तशालि ।
 20 एवं सूक्ष्मादिशालीनां नामान्यूह्यानि सूरभिः ॥ इति दशशालिषाम्यम् ॥
 धान्यानामूनविशस्या तृणशालिगणो भवेत् ॥
 इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां श्यामाकादितृणधान्यवर्गे ऊनविशतितमः ॥ १६ ॥

[विंशो भक्तादिकृतान्नवर्गः]

- भक्तादिभिर्भक्तविकारजातैर्यूषैः समण्डैरपि साधितान्नैः ।
 नानाविधव्यञ्जनकैरनेकैः पूषैर्निरुक्तश्च कृतान्नवर्गः ॥
 भिस्मान्नो^१ दीदिवि^२भक्तमन्नमाहारमोदनम् । भात ।
 ५ भिश्मीष्टा दग्धका दग्धे फेला भक्तसमुज्जितम् ॥ उच्छिष्टाञ्च ।
 भोष्यं^३ भक्ष्यञ्च लेह्यञ्च पेयमन्नं चतुर्विधम् ।
 निषेयं चर्वणं^४ वोष्यं खाद्यं केप्यादुरष्टधा ॥ अन्नभेद ।
 यवयावनगोधूमभक्तानां नाम तादृशम् । यवादि अन्न ।
 दशपञ्चगुणे तोये सिद्धा पेयाल्प^५सिक्थका ॥ पेया ।
 आरनालकसौवीरकुलमाषाभिषुतानि^६ च ।
 10 अवनन्ति^७सोमधाम्याम्लकुञ्जलानि^८ च काञ्जिकम् ॥ काञ्जिपानि ।
 चतुर्गुणजले सिद्धा विलेपी^९ तरला च सा । विलेपी ।
 यवागू^{१०}रुष्णिका आणा^{११} बहुला^{१२} षड्गुणाम्भसा ॥ यवागू ।
 विघ्नाप्रियन्तु सिद्धान्नं पट्कां^{१३} यवयवागुका । यवेर जाउ ।
 १५ तिलआणा तु कुशरा तालवः(?)^{१४} पिष्टपायसः ॥ खिरसा ।
 पायसः पयसा सिद्धा यवागुः क्षिरिका^{१५} च सा । खिर ।
 २० विदलान् वितुषान् भृष्टान्^{१६} चतुर्भागाम्बुसाधितान् ।
 निष्पीड्य तोयमन्तर्षा संस्कृतं यूष उच्यते ॥ यूष रस ।
 मौद्रकौलस्थगोधूम[गोधूमा ?] यूषा मुद्रादिसम्भवाः । यूषभेद ।
 २५ माषराचामनिस्त्रावा^{१७} मण्डे भक्तसमुद्भवे ॥ फेन क्लृ ।
 20 निर्भक्तः साधितो मण्डश्चतुर्दशगुणोदकैः । मण्ड ।
 मण्डः सर्वरसा श्रेणि^{१८} लज्जमुद्रा^{१९}दिजेऽपि च ॥ लाजामण्डादि ।
 पूर्वाग्नेऽपि^{२०} च लाजाः स्युः^{२१}र्न द्वयोरक्षतस्तथा । खहिलाजा ।
 पृथुकः^{२२}स्याच्चिर्वापटको धाना^{२३} भृष्टो यवस्तु यः ॥ चिडामुडि ।
 रसालां मार्जिता प्रोक्ता करम्भा दधिसक्तवः^{२४} । दधिकडमा ।

^१B.D पुष्पे ^२A.-स्थान्दो.B.-ज्ञो. F.G. भिस्ता. ^३A.B.-दिभि. ^४A. भिस्त्वचो.G.भिस्सदा. ^५A.-B.भो.^६A. प्रेष्यं.B.प्रेष्यं. See R.^७D शि-. ^८A.-B.भिःश्व-(सु). ^९Mss. भवन्ति. ^{१०}A.B. कुञ्जानि.
^{११}B. विने-. V.S. ... विरजद्रवा. ^{१२}H.-गु-. ^{१३}A.आनौ.B.-सन. ^{१४}B.-दना. A.H.-इवा. F.G.बहुला.
^{१५}B. षट्को. ^{१६}B. -नभा-. ^{१७}B. ताणर. F.त्वालजः. G.रा-. ^{१८}A. क्षिरका. B. खिरीका. H.I.omit.
 lines 13-15. ^{१९}B.D.G.बै. ^{२०}D. मृ-. ^{२१}A.माषावा-. ^{२२}Mss.-भा-. ^{२३}H.I. omit lines
 17-19 and F.lines 18-19. ^{२४}B.-साम्रपि F.-सोऽग्नेपि. Cf. V.रसाग्रः.A.H.-सम्भे-.Text on
 V.S. ^{२५}A.-मुद्- ^{२६}A.B. पूर्वोऽग्ने. F. पु'षडुहरेऽपि. ^{२७}A.लाजाश्च स्थनवो-. ^{२८}A.-दिपि-. ^{२९}A.H.
 धाम्य. ^{३०}A.H.I. omit this line.

- 25 यवतण्डुललाजानां चूर्णे शक्तुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ छातु ।
 स 'तूदमन्थो मन्थश्च 'दुग्धादिपरिगोलितः^३ । अमृतमन्थ ।
 रागादि साधिताम्नानां [केवलं नाम] नोदितम्^४ ॥ साधिताम्न ।
 जातिवशादष्टविधं मांसं 'मृगविष्किरप्रतुदैः ।
 प्रसहबिलस्थमहामृगजलचरमीनैः क्रमात् कथितम् ॥ मांसजातिनाम
- 30 कुरङ्गशशगोवर्ण^५सम्बरैणादिका मृगाः । मृगजाति ।
 वत्सिका तित्तिरिः वेकी कुक्कुटाद्यास्तु विष्किराः ॥ विष्किर जाति ।
 लट्वाकोकिलदात्युह^६शुकाद्याः प्रतुदाः स्मृताः । प्रतुदजाति ।
 सिंहचौ^७त्वाखुरटको^८ल्काद्याः^९प्रसहाः स्मृताः ॥ प्रसह जाति ।
 गोधानकुलभेकाहिश्वाविधाख्या बिलेशयाः । बिलेशय जाति ।
- 35 खड्गीभकोल^{१०}गवयमहिषाद्या महामृगाः ॥ महामृग जाति ।
 हंससारसकादम्बबकक्रौञ्चादयोऽपचराः^{११} । जलचर जाति ।
 मत्स्या रोहितकुम्भीरकूर्म^{१२}शम्बुककक्कटाः ॥ मत्स्य जाति ।
 एतद्वर्गोक्तजन्तूनां प्रसिद्धं^{१३} नाम कथ्यते ।
 मृगे कुरङ्गवातायुहरिणाजिनयोनयः ॥ मृग ।
- 40 मयूरो बहिणो बर्ही^{१४} नीलकण्ठो भुजङ्गभृक् ।
 शिखाबलो शिखी केकी मेघनादानुला^{१५}स्यपि ॥ मयूर ।
 वेका वाणी मयूरस्य समौ चन्द्रवमेचकौ । मयूरस्य (?) ।
 शिखा चूडा शिखण्डस्तु^{१६}पिच्छं बहिं [-हं?] नपुंसकम् ॥† मयूरपिच्छ ।
 कृकवाक् स्तामचूडः कक्कुटश्चरणा^{१७}युधः । कसुड़ा ।
- 45 वनप्रियः परभृतः कोकिलः पिक इत्यपि ॥ कोकिल ।
 काल^{१८}कण्ठस्तु दात्युहस्तथा वीरः शुकोऽपि च । डाउकशुकौ ।
 शाखामृगः^{१९}सवङ्गश्च मर्कटो वानरः कपिः ॥ वानर ।
 श्वालर्कः^{२०}सारमेयश्च मृगदंशश्च कुक्कुरः । कुक्कुर^{२१} ।
 मधुपो भ्रमरो भृङ्गो द्विरेफोऽलिस्तु षट्पदः ॥ भ्रमर ।
- 50 सिंहो मृगेन्द्रः पञ्चास्यो हय्यक्षः केशरी हरिः । सिंह ।
 भल्लूकोऽप्यच्छभल्लः स्यादृक्षो भल्लुक एव च ॥ भालुक ।

^१A.H.-तेदमच्छो. B. तोद-F.मेद-. Text on VS. ^२A.-न्धो- ^३B.-नित. ^४Mss. लाजिम (or-मस)नोदितः. F.-लानाम-. ^५A.B.-रसा. ^६Mss. धेकी (or धैके)प्रतुदैः. ^७F.G. शम्भ-
^८A.-दानुहृग-. B.-स्तका-. ^९A.B.-चोन्ना-. ^{१०}Line 54 below and F.G. करड-. ^{११}A.B. द्याश्च-F.G.-एलूका-.. ^{१२}A.खंडिभवानगवासा.B.-रेभवाणगरयो ॥ A.B. ऽष्टधा. H.ऽष्टवा. ^{१३}A.P. स-
^{१४}A.B.-जा. ^{१५}A.B.-हिं. ^{१६}A.-नास्य-. ^{१७}B. पु-. †F.G. omit 41-43, while G. has after 39 two lines giving names for वत्सिका and तित्तिरि. ^{१८}A.B. वाना-. ^{१९}A.H.वाल्-
 B.वान-G.कल-. ^{२०}A.ख-^{२१}A.H.स्वनक.G.शुनकः. ^{२२}H.I G have after this: गोमायुः क्रोष्टुकः क्रोडा मृगायो जम्बुकः शिवा । मृगाल । F. omits this as well as 47-49,

जलाम्निवाष्प^१सुस्विन्नः^२ पूपोऽयूपस्तु पिष्टकः^३ । सिजःपिटा ।
पनसादि^४फलैर्दुः^५षैः^६ साधितोऽपि तथाविधः ॥ नाना पिष्टक ।
कृतान्नवर्गः कथितो द्रव्यैरेभिस्तु षष्टिभिः ॥
इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां भक्तादिकृतान्नवर्गो विशतितमः ॥२०॥

[एकविंशः पानीयवर्गः]

- दिठ्याम्भोधिनदीतडागसरसी^१चुण्डोद्भिदावापिका—
कूपमावजभावतो^२ऽम्बु दशधा शीतोष्णहंसोषितम्^३ ।
श्वैमोषःपरिवासिता^४र्त्तवमिति प्रोक्तानि तोये गणे
क्षीराक्षीनि दधीनि तक्रनवनीताष्यानि सर्वाणि च ॥
5 स्वर्नाकस्त्रिदिवः स्वर्गो द्योदिव^५त्रिदशलयाः^६ ।
रत्नाकरः समुद्रोऽब्धिरुदन्दान् सागरोऽर्णवः ॥ समुद्र ।
नदी सरित् शैवलिनी^७ तटिनी निम्नगापगा । सामान्यनदी ।
मन्दाकिनी वियद्गङ्गा स्वर्णादी सुरदीधिका ॥ खगङ्गा ।
गङ्गा विष्णुपदी जह्नूतनया सुरनिम्नगा ।
10 भागीरथी त्रिपथगा त्रिलोता भीष्मसूरपि ॥ गङ्गा ।
कालिन्दी सूर्यतनया यमुना शमनस्वसा । यमुना ।
रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका ॥ नर्मदा ।
गोदावरी चन्द्रभागा सरयुश्च सरस्वती । सरस्वती ।
शीघ्रा पयोष्णी^८ कावेरी पथ्या सिन्धुश्च गोमती ॥ नदीभेद ।
15 पद्माकरस्तडागः स्यादकृत्रिमसर्गिद्धदः । ह्रद ।
पुष्करिण्यान्तु स्वातं स्यात् कासारः सरसी सरः ॥ पुष्करिणी ।
चुण्डः सैकतकूपः स्यादुद्भिदो विवरोत्थितः ।^९पानि भुङ्गुडा ।
वेशान्तः पल्लवं चाल्पसरो वापी तु दीधिका ॥ दिधि ।
^{१०}अन्धुः कूपः प्रहि(स्) तद्वदुदपानं तु पुंसि वा । कुया ।

^१D.-मा सु. ^२A.B. वासमुस्मिन्नः. ^३H.I. omit 76-78. ^४A.-द्वि-. ^५A.-ष्वेः. ^६A.B.-चदेतिवा. D. कुण्डादुद्भिद्. ^७A.भवतो.-B.-भारतो. D.-प्रसवणसज्जला दशधा... ^८D.-द्वैः. ^९A.B. हेमो-. ^{१०}A.B. भुज-. ^{११}B.-दिवास्त्र. A.-क्षि-. ^{१२}B.-यः. ^{१३}A.B.सै-. ^{१४}A.H.शीघ्रजोष्टकावेरी. B.शीघ्रा च जाष्टा का. F. सिमा... ^{१५}The Mss. are hopelessly corrupt here. A.H.I. बोयडः लोकततद्रूपः स्यादुद्भुवो विधुरोत्थितः. B.चुण्डः सैकतकूपः स्यादुद्भुवो विधुरोत्थितम्. Text on F. Compare the introductory verse of this chapter and Śivadāśasena on Dravyagūṇasaṃgraha 6.9, 'चुण्डो नवकूपः प्रस्यासन्नजलः स पुनर्नद्यादिसमीपे तत्कायकृता नवकूपिका' and Dalhaṇya on Su. 1.45.4, 'उद्भिदं पुनर्निम्नप्रदेशादुद्भोतिहृत्तज्जलस्थानम्.'

^{१६}Mss. अन्ध-

- 20 गात्रोऽद्रिः^१ पर्वतः क्षमाभृच्छैलौ प्रावाचलौ गिरिः ॥ पर्वत ।
पाषाणः प्रस्तरमाद्योपलारमानः शिना दृषत् । पाषाण ।
स्रुः प्रस्थः शिखरं शृङ्गं कूटं सानुगधिस्यका ॥ पर्वतशिखा ।
दरी तु कन्दरो वा स्त्री देवस्वातबिले गुहा । पर्वतकन्दर ।
रस्सः प्रस्रवणं वारिप्रवाहे निर्मरो भरः ॥ भार ।
- 25 दशैते कथिता वारामाशयास्तद्भवं जन्म^२ ।
विष्यसामुद्रनादेयं भेदास्त्राम त्रिनिर्दिशेत् ॥ दशविध जल ।
सुषारं शीतलं शीतं सुषीमं^३ शिशिरं हिमम् । शीतल जल ।
तिग्मं तीक्ष्णं खरं तप्तमत्युष्णं सोष्मवैकृतम्^४ ॥ तप्त ।
कोष्णं कवोष्णं मन्दोष्णं मनागुष्णं कटुष्णकम् । अल्पोष्ण ।
- 30 दिवानिशोषितं हंसोदकञ्चैवाष्टयामिकम् ॥ आटपहरिया ।
वषितं स्थात्पयुषितं ह्यस्तनं व्युषितं तथा । वासि जल ।
अवश्यायस्तु नीहारस्तुषरस्तुहिनं हिमम् ॥ हिम ।
ऋषषपोतमुषस्तोयं सुगन्धि परिवासितम् । उषापानि ओ वासानपानि ।
हेमन्तः शिशिरः पौष्पो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा शरदृतुः ॥ षडृतुनाम ।
- 35 कियन्त्युक्तानि नामानि जलवर्गोपदेशतः । इति जलभेदाः ।
क्षीरं पीयूषमौधस्यं दुग्धं^५ स्तन्यं पयोऽमृतम् ॥ दुग्ध ।
दुग्धसारः सरः क्षीरसन्तानः सरपर्पटी । सरपापडी ।
द्रूपस्यं दधि पयस्यं च दाधिकं दधिसंस्कृतम् ॥ बसादहि ।
किलाटं दधिदुग्धञ्च तक्रं पादजलान्वितम् । घोल ।
- 40 तक्रं गोरसजं घोलं कालसेयं विलोडितम् ॥
दण्डाहतमरिष्टोम्लमुदशिक्ममथितं द्रवः ।
दधिजं नवनीतं स्यात् सारं दैयङ्गवीनकम्^६ ॥ नुनि ।
घृतमाज्यं हविः सपिः पवित्रं नवनीतजम् ॥ घृत ।
पेयवर्गो भवेत् पञ्चत्रिंशद्द्रव्याभिधानकैः ॥

इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां पानीयवर्गश्चैव विशतितमः ॥२१॥

^१A. 'आकुः. B. 'आकु. ^२A.H. दशैते कन्दताववामंसशयास्तद्भवं जलम्. B. दशैते कन्द तावा वा मांसया स्तद्भवं जलम्. ^३A. सुशीलं. B. सुसिरं. ^४D. सोष्ण-. ^५B. वासितं. F. डवः-. ^६A.B.H. क्षीरं. ^७A.B. कृष्यं. H. कूर्यं. Cf. R. क्षीरजं दधि तद्रूप्यं विरलं मरुतु तज्जलम्. ^८A. दधिष्टोक्. B. दधि प्योतिं खलं. Vide SK., s. v. तक्रम्, where ll. 40-41 are quoted as from. R. V. gives अरिष्टः. D. दण्डाहतम् सरजमुद-. ^९A.B. सावदैयङ्गवीयसा D. स्याद्द्रवं दैयङ्गवीनकम्. F.H. सारो.

[द्वाविंश आवश्यकवर्गः*]

- अभ्यङ्गस्नानवस्त्राभरणमुकुरसंचित्रकोष्णीषमाला—
पादू^१खट्वातपत्रव्यजनकहसनीसौधशय्यावितानैः ।
व्यायामोद्वर्त^२कृत्युपवनमृगयास्वप्नसंजागरा^३ध्व—
स्त्रीसेवाहारदीपादिभिरभवदथावश्यकस्वेष वर्गः ॥
- 5 मर्दनं स्नेहनं तद्वदभ्यङ्गः^४ सम्प्र^५देहनम् ।
निमज्जनं चावगाहः स्नान आस्ना^६ आस्रवः ॥
परिकर्माङ्गसंस्कारः स्यान्मार्ष्टि^७ मर्जनं मृजा ।
वस्त्रमाच्छादनं वासः पटो वसनमंशु^८म् ॥
अनाहतं निष्प्रवाणि तन्त्रकं^९ च नवाम्बर ।
- 10 क्षौमं दुकूलं कौशेयं पत्रोर्णं कृमिकोषजम् ॥
कार्पासं बादरं फालं राङ्गवं मृगरोमजम् ।
निचोलः प्रच्छदपटः समौ रत्नककम्बलौ ॥
अन्तरीयोपसंव्यानपरिधानान्यधोऽंशुके ।
नीशारः^{१०} स्यात् प्रावरणे हिमानिलनिवारणे ॥
- 15 संव्यानमुत्तरीयं च दूष्याद्य^{११} वस्त्रवेरमनि ।
अलङ्काररत्नाभरणं परिष्कारो विभूषणम् ॥
चूडामणिः शिरोरत्नं मुकुटं च किरीटकम् ।
प्रैवेयकं कण्ठभूषा कुण्डलं कर्णवेष्टनम् ॥
हारो मुक्तावली मुक्ताल । मुक्ताकलापकः ।
- 20 आवापकः पारिहार्यः कटको वलयो^{१२}ऽपि च ॥
केयूरमङ्गदं तुल्ये अङ्गुलीयं च मुद्रिका^{१३} ।
साक्षराऽङ्गुलमुद्रा स्यात् कङ्कणं करभूषणम् ॥
स्त्रीकट्यां मेखनं काञ्ची सप्तकी रसना तथा ।
पादाङ्गदं तुताकोटी मञ्जोरा नूपुरोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥
- 25 आदर्शो मुकुरश्चैव बिम्बभृद् दपेणोऽपि च ।
तमालपत्रं तिलकं चित्रकं च विशेषकम् ॥

* The following lines in this chapter are either directly taken from or strongly reminiscent of Amara: 6^b, 7-9, 11-24, 26, 28-35, 36^b, 37-39, 41-54, 56-59, 65, 68-75, 78-81. ^१F. पाण्डुः. ^२F. कृत. ^३F. समु. ^४F. बाणी तन्त्रकं. ^५F. नीशारः. ^६F. दुष्पाद्य. ^७F. आवापकः...कण्ठः कन्दलयो. See Am and V. ^८Amara has...अङ्गुलीयकमुद्रिका. But cf. MW. मुद्रा=‘any ring’.

- शिरस्त्राय शिरस्यार्ण्या(?)^१ वतंसोष्णीषवेष्टनम् ।
 र्ऋकारो गन्धमाल्याद्यै यैः स्यात्तदधिवासनम् ॥
 माल्यं मालास्त्रजौ मूर्ध्नि केशाद्वये तु गर्भकः ।
 30 प्रभ्रष्टकं शिखालम्बि पुरोन्यतं तलामकम् ॥
 प्रालम्बमृजुलम्बि स्याच्छिखास्वापीडशेखरौ ।
 पादूरुपानत् पादत्रं पद्मोऽनुपदिनाशनम् (?)^२ ॥
 भवेत् खट्वा च पर्यङ्को मञ्चः पल्यङ्क इत्यपि ।
 कटः स्याद्धरणः पीठमासनं दारवं च तत् ॥
 35 छत्रं स्यादातपत्रं च व्यजनं तालवृन्तकम् ।
 श्री लक्ष्मीश्चामरं वालव्यजनं च [प्रकीर्णकम्]^३ ॥
 हसन्त्यङ्गारशकटी हसन्त्यङ्गारधानिका ।
 तद्भेदः^४ स्वेदनी कन्दुरङ्गारोऽलातमुल्मुकम् ॥
 अश्मन्तमुद्धानमधिश्रयणी चुल्लिरन्तिका ।
 40 अट्टस्तु राजसदनं सौधं धवलवेश्म च ॥
 शय्यायां शयनीयं स्याच्छयनं तल्पमेव च ।
 उपाधानं तूपवर्हः स एवावर्जनीयकम्^५ ॥
 चन्द्रातपो वितानं स्यादुल्लोचः स च कीर्तितः ।
 [बाहुयुद्धं]^६ नियुद्धं स्याद् व्यायामस्त्वङ्गवेष्टनम् ॥
 45 उद्धतनाच्छादने द्वे वर्त्ती गात्रानुलेपनी ।
 प्रसाधनी कङ्कतिका मौलिकेशप्रसाधनी ॥
 आरामः स्यादुपवनं गृहारामास्तु निष्कुटाः ।
 अमात्यगणिकागेहोपवने वृक्षवाटिका ॥
 पुमानाक्रोड उद्यानं राज्ञः साधारणं वनम् ।
 50 स्यादेतदेव प्रमदवनमन्तःपुरोचितम् ॥
 आच्छोदनं मृगव्यं स्यादाखेटो मृगया स्त्रियाम् ।
 उन्माथः कूटयन्त्र^७ स्याद् वागुरा मृगबन्धनी ॥
 श्यामद्रा शयन स्त्रापः स्वप्नः स्ववेश इत्यपि ।
 स्वप्नकू श्यालुनिद्रालु निद्र एशयतो समौ ॥
 55 उज्ज्वलभणं जागरणं प्रबोध[स्व]^८पनिद्रणम् ।

^१. . शिरस्यार्ण्या ? ^२Cf. Am. 2.10.31, पादूरुपानत् स्त्री सैवानुपदीना पदायता and Pāṇini 5.2.9. To read . . पादत्रेऽनुपदीना पदायता ? or . . पद्मोऽनुपदीनासनम् ? Cf. V. पादुकाऽनुपदीना स्यादुपानत् पादरक्षणी, where, according to the editor अनुपदीना means 'a wooden shoe.' ^३F.प्रकाशकम्. Cf. Am. 2.8.1.31. ^४F.-दा. ^५आवर्जनीयकम् could not be traced in the dictionaries. ^६F. व्यायामं च. ^७F.-यन्त्रः. ^८F.-स.

- अयनं वर्त्मपन्थाध्वमार्गं च पदवी 'सृतिः ॥
 यात्रा म्रज्याभिनिर्याणं प्रस्थानं गमनं गमः ।
 अध्वनीनोऽध्वगोऽध्वन्यः पान्थः पथिक इत्यपि ॥
 व्यबायो मैथुनं ग्राम्यधर्मो निधुवनं रतम् ।
- 60 अशनं प्रत्यवसानं^१माहारोऽभ्यवहारकः ॥
 दीपः प्रदीपो ध्वान्तधनो महोल्कस्तु महोज्ज्वलः ॥
 आदीति शब्दादिह धूमपार्श्वस्त्रनोपवासाचर्नवाहनानाम् ।
 उल्लङ्घनक्रन्दनभाष्यहास्यफेनोत्सवानां कथयाम नाम ॥
 आकाशाध्वा^४ च धूमोऽग्निपिशुनो ज्वलनाग्रजः ।
- 65 क्षोदो धूलिश्च पांशुश्च रेणुश्चूर्णं रजस्तथा ॥
 अञ्जनं कज्जलं नेत्रमण्डनं धूमसम्भवम् ।
 प्रायोपवेशोऽनशनं निराहारोपवासकौ ॥
 पूजा नमस्य। उपचितिः सपर्या चार्हणा समाः ।
 सर्वं स्याद् वाहनं यानं युग्मं युग्यं च^६ धारणम् ॥
- 70 शिविका याप्ययानं स्याद् दोला भङ्गादिका स्त्रियाम् ।
 याने चक्रिणि युद्धार्थे शताङ्गः स्यन्दनो रथः ॥
 उभौ तु द्वैपवैयाघ्रौ द्वीपिचर्मवृते रथे ।
 पाण्डुकम्बलसंवीतः स्यन्दनः पाण्डुकम्बली ॥
 कर्णीरथः प्रवहणं हयनं च समं त्रयम् ।
- 75 क्लीबेऽनः शकटोऽस्त्री स्याद् गन्त्री कंबलिवाहनम्^७ ॥
 द्विपेभौ चारणो नागो हस्ती दन्ती करी गजः ।
 तुरङ्गोऽर्वा^८ हयो वाजी षोटकोऽश्वस्तुरङ्गमः ॥
 षष्ठो महाङ्गश्च मयो व्यङ्गपृष्ठः क्रमेत्कः ।
 वालेयकस्तु चक्राह्नो^{१०} रासभो गर्दभः खरः ॥
- 80 अनड्वान् सौरभेयो गौ ऋषभो वृषभो वृषः ।

^१F. म्रतिः. ^२F.-सन. ^३F.-सम्या. ^४F.-त्मा. ^५F.-ग्निः. ^६=Am. 2.8.2.26 with v. ८.;
 युग्मं युग्यं च.. ^७=Am. 2.8.2.20, which has कंबलिवाहनकम्, ^८F. वा. ^९F. व. ^{१०}F.-ङ्.

मेढोरभ्रोरणोर्णायुमेषवृष्णय^१ पङ्काः ॥

उल्लङ्घनमुत्स^२वनं जङ्घोक्षेष्टनमुत्क्रमः ।

क्रन्दनं रोदनं चाश्रुमोक्षणं नयनस्रवः ॥

सम्भाषणं व्याहरणं कथनं वचनोदितम् ।

85 हासो हास्यं हसो हर्षो दरहासो ऽपि च स्मितम् ॥

दर्पकं फेनकं पादसाधनं च विटप्रियम् ।

उत्सवस्तरणं वारिक्रीडनं बाहुसन्तरः^३ ॥

अनुवर्त्यभिधानेन प्राप्तश्चावश्यको गणः ॥

इति पर्यायमुक्तावल्यामभ्यङ्गाद्यावश्यकवर्गो द्वाविंशः ॥२२॥

[त्रयोविंशो भौतिकादिवर्गः*]

भूतादिकालकृतकर्मरसेन्द्रियौघै-

स्तैलादिकद्रवचराचरलभ्यमानैः ।

वैद्यदिपाकपचनार्हषडौषधाद्यै-

र्नानार्थकैरपि हि भौतिकवर्ग उक्तः ॥

5 भूतानि पृथिवीवारितेजोवायुनभांसि च ।

एषां गन्धो^४ रसो रूपं स्पर्शः शब्दः प्रयोजनम् ॥

भूर्भुमिः पृथिवी पृथ्वी द्रुमा ऽवनी मेदिनी मही ।

धरा धरित्री धरणी क्षौणि वसुमती क्षितिः ॥

त्रिधा भूर्जाङ्गलानूपसाधारणविधानतः ।

10 मरुत्प्राया^५ शर्करिला नाशमाककुम्भकैः^६(?) ।

लावैणतित्तिरैर्युक्ता जाङ्गला भूरुदाहृता ॥

शीतवातजलप्राया तालहिम्तालताडिभिः ।

युक्ता हंसवलाकाद्यैरनूपा भूः प्रकीर्तिता ॥

मृगपक्षिद्रुमाकीर्णा जाङ्गलानूपयोद्वयोः ।

15 साधारणगुणै युक्ता भूमिः साधारणा स्मृता ॥

क्षेत्रमस्याः शिवेनोक्तं जातिभेदाच्चतुर्विधम् ।

ब्राह्म्यं ब्रह्मद्रुमाकीर्णं श्वेतमृत कुशविस्तरम् ।

क्षेत्रं सशैलमृत्ताम्रं दुर्गमं खदिरादिघृत^७(?) ॥

*F.-मैषवृषय. *F.-स्प. *F.-रं *The following lines are either directly taken from or strongly reminiscent of Amara: 7, 8, 23-25, 29, 30, 34, 42-45, 50-52, 58-62, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 75, 78^b, 87, 88, 91, 92, 94-97, 104, 106, 107, 118-124, 128, 131-133, 144, 147, 150, 151, 186-188, 193-194, 195. *F.गन्ध. *Elsewhere मरुत्प्राया. *या शमीकरिरादिकैः? Cf. Bh., शमीकरीरविस्वाकंपीलुककंभुसकुलः. *मृत् or-भिः? Cf. R.1.10., खदिरादिघृतमं-

- वैश्यं निधानवत्स्वर्णं^१ सेवितं सिद्धकिन्नरैः ।
 20 बहुशस्यतृणं शौद्रं श्यामं कर्षकलाभदम् ॥
 पद्मा^२ शक्रः किन्नरेशः क्षितिरेषां च देवताः ।
 उच्यते भेद एतेषामकृष्टेऽप्रहतं खिलम्^३ ॥
 सीत्यं^४ कृष्टं च हल्यं च वपनार्थमुपस्कृतम् ।
 बीजाकृतं तूमकृष्टं^५ खारिवापस्तु खारिकः ॥
 25 द्रोणाढकादिवापादौ 'द्रौणिकाढाककादयः ।
 तिलस्य तिल्यं^६ तैलीनं यव्यं क्षेत्रं यवस्य यत् ॥
 ग्रीह्युद्भवं च ग्रैह्यं शालेयं शालिसम्भवम् ॥
 कोद्रवैः^७ क्रौद्रवीणं स्यान्मुद्गै मौद्गीनमीरितम् ॥
 प्रत्यन्तो मूच्छदेशः स्यान्मध्यदेशस्तु मध्यमः ।
 30 उर्वरा सर्वशस्याद्या स्यादूषः क्षारमृत्तिका ॥
 सैकतः लिकतायुक्तः शार्करो बहुशर्करः ।
 नडाद्यो नड्वलो नड्वान् कुमुद्वान् कुमुदावृतः ॥
 शाद्वलः श्वादहरिते सजम्बाले तु पङ्क्तिनः ।
 सवेतसस्तु वेतस्वान् सशाकः शाकशाकटम्^८ ॥
 35 द्वात्रिंशद्^९ भेदकाः प्रोक्ता देशानां च समासतः ॥ इति भूमिसंख्या ।
 नीरं वारि पयस्तोयमम्भोऽम्बु सलिलं जलम् ।
 पाथोऽर्णः कं वनं त्वापः पानीयमुदकं तथा ॥
 शिखी वैश्वानरो वह्नि र्दहनश्चाशुशुक्षणिः ।
 पावकां हव्यवाह्नाऽग्नि हुतभुग् ब्वलनोऽनलः ॥
 40 नभस्वान् श्वसनो वातो मारुतो पवनो मरुत् ।
 प्रभस्वनोऽनिलो वायुर्मातरिश्वा सदागतिः ॥
 द्योदिवौ वियदाकाशं व्योम पुष्करमम्बरम् ।
 नभोऽन्तरीक्षं गगनमनन्तं सुरवर्त्म खम् ॥ इति पञ्च महाभूतानि ।
 इष्टगन्धः सुगन्धिः स्यात् सुरभिर्ग्राणतर्पणः ।
 45 आमोदः स्यात् परिमले गन्धे जनमनोहरे ॥

^१F.-वस्वर्णः. Cf. R.1. 11., शातकुम्भनिभभूमिभास्वरं स्वयंरेणुनिचितं निधानवत् ।. ^२R. पद्मा.

^३F.प्रहितं शिलं. ^४F.सीता-. ^५F.विजिज्ञितं तूमकृष्टं. ^६F.द्रो-. ^७F. तैल्य. Cf. P. 5.2.4,

^८F.कौ-. ^९F.स्थाद-. ^{१०}F.-शाकट. ^{११}F.द्वात्रिंश.

- पूतिगन्धस्तु दुर्गन्धो विस्त्रं स्यादामगन्धि यत् ॥
 निष्पीड्यान्नभवं (?) पेयोद्भवस्तु (?) स्वरसो मतः^४ ।
 रूपं विलोचनग्राह्यं स्वरूपं मूर्तिराकृतिः ॥
 सम्पर्कः स्पर्शनं सम्पृक् स्पृष्टं व्यतिकर^५स्तथा ।
 50 शब्दे निनादनिनदध्वनिध्वानरवस्वनाः ॥
 स्वाननिर्घोषनिर्ह्रादनादिनिःस्वाननिःस्वनाः । इति पञ्चमहाभूतगुणाः ।
 कालो दिष्टोऽप्यनेहापि कर्माहः समयोऽपि च ॥
 भेदो निमेषकाष्ठादिकलाक्षणमुहूर्तकाः ।
 अहोरात्रः पक्षमासत्र्वयनाब्दयुगादयः^६ ॥
 55 निमेषः स्यादयत्नेन चक्षुषो वर्त्मचालनम् ।
 काष्ठाश्चाष्टादशोन्मेषास्त्रिंशत्काष्ठाः कलाः स्मृताः ॥
 क्षणस्त्रिंशत्कलाभिस्तु मुहूर्तो द्वादशक्षणः ।
 ते तु त्रिंशदहोरात्रः पक्षस्ते दश पञ्च च ॥
 पक्षौ पूर्वापरौ शुक्लकृष्णौ मासस्तु तावुभौ ।
 60 द्वौ द्वौ माघादिमासौ^७ स्यादृतुस्तैरयनं त्रिभिः ॥
 अयने द्वे गतिरुद्गं दक्षिणार्कस्य वत्सरः ।
 संबत्सरो वत्सरोऽब्दो हादनोऽस्त्री शरत् समाः ॥
 वस्वक्षिमात्राः (?) ऋतुरन्ध्रमासा वेदार[सा]^८ष्टौ मुजवह्विवेदाः ।
 एतानि चान्या विषयेरितानि युगा[ब्द]^९संख्या परिकीर्तितानि^{१०} ॥
 65 एतत्कालकृतं कर्म प्रोष्मा[वश्याय]^{११}वर्षणम् ।
 छायाप्रवातनिर्वातातपव्योत्सनातमांसि च ॥
 निदाघ उष्णोपगम उष्म उष्मागमस्तपः ।
 अवश्यायस्तु नाहारस्तुषारस्तुहिनं हिमम्^{१२} ॥
 वर्षा च वर्षणं प्रावृद्धं वृष्टिं वर्षमुदाहृतम् ।
 70 धारासम्पात आसारः शीकरोऽम्बुकणाः स्मृताः ॥

^४The text must be corrupt here. F.स्पष्टं व्यतिकरं. ^५F..सवयनाब्दगुणादयः..

^६F.-मासः. ^७F.-षा-. ^८F.-दि-. ^९The text is evidently corrupt here. What is meant is that the figures 1728, 1296, 864 and 432, each multiplied by 1000, give the numbers of years in the four ages respectively.

^{१०}F.-कच स्यात्. ^{११}This line appears also as 21.

- पृषन्ति विन्दुपृषताः पुमांसो विप्रुषः स्त्रियः ।
 अम्बुवाहो घनो मेघस्तनयितुर्बलाहकः ॥
 कुलिशं वज्रमशनिः स्फुर्जथुर्वज्रनिम्बनः ।
 शम्पा सौदामिनी विद्युश्चञ्चला चपला तडित् ॥
 75 इन्द्रायुधं शक्रधनुः करका वर्षणोपलः^१ ।
 छाया सूर्यप्रिया कान्तः प्रतिबिम्बमनातपः ॥
 भङ्गानिलः प्रवातः स्यान्निर्वातो धर्मदो मरुत् ।
 रुचिर्दीप्तिः प्रभालोकः प्रकाशो द्योत आतपः ॥
 चन्द्रिकाह्लादिनी ज्योत्स्ना कौमुदी चामृताह्वया ।
 80 ध्वान्तोऽन्धकारस्तमिरं तमिस्रं शर्वरी^२ तमः ॥
 रसाः स्वादुमूत्रवणत्तिकोषणकषायकाः ।
 स्वादुश्च मिष्टमधुरौ विदाह^३ चुक्रममूत्रकम् ॥
 लवणं तु कटु चारं तिक्तं कटु सुगन्धि^४ च ।
 उषणं कटुकं चैव कषायोऽपि च तूषरः ॥
 85 पायूपस्थं पाणिपादं वाक् कर्मेन्द्रियपञ्चकम् ।
 जिह्वात्वक्कण्ठनासाक्षि पञ्चबुद्धीन्द्रिये मनः ॥
 गुदं त्वपानं पायुः स्यादुपस्थो भगलिङ्गयोः ।
 भग योनिद्वयोः शिरसा मेढ्रो मेहनशेफली ॥
 ध्वजोऽण्डो घृषणं लिङ्गं मुष्कं च मदनाङ्कुराः ।
 90 पञ्चशाखः शयः पाणिस्तथा हस्ताङ्गुली^५(?)करः ॥
 पादः^६पादङ्घ्रि[श्]चरणं पदाम्रं प्रपदं पदम् ।
 ब्राह्मी तु भारती भाषा गीर्वाण् वाणी सरस्वती ॥
 रसज्ञा रसना जिह्वा चर्म त्वगन्त्य^(?)सृग्बरा^७ ।
 कर्णः शब्दग्रहं श्रोत्रं श्रुतिश्च श्रवणं श्रवः ॥
 95 घ्राणं गन्धग्रहा भौम्या घोणा नासा च नासिका ।
 लोचनं नयनं चक्षुः[श्चाम्बक]^८ नेत्रमीक्षणम् ॥

^१F.-क्ष. ^२Cf. शर्वरं SK. ^३For विदाहः or विदग्धः? ^४There is evidently a lapse here into giving different meanings of तिक्त instead of its synonyms. ^५हस्तोङ्गुली? (अङ्गुली=अङ्गुल+इत्). ^६F.पादा-. ^७त्वगन्त्य-? ^८Cf. SK. s. v. चर्म. ^९F.आम्बकं.

- चित्तं तु चेतो हृदयं स्वान्तं हृन्मानसं मनः । इत्येकादश इन्द्रियाणि ।
 तैलादिकं द्रवं द्रव्यं^१ तैलमाध्वीकमूत्रकम्^२ ।
 तैलं तु चिकणं स्नेहं सत्त्वबीजादिसम्भवम् ।
 100 तैलं सार्षपमेरुएडं^३ तिलादिजनितं क्रमात् ॥
 हाला मद्यं प्रसन्नरो मदिरा वारुणी सुरा ।
 मद्यभेदाः खलु सुरा वारुणी मद्यजातयः ॥
 माध्वीकं गोस्तनीमद्यं कोहली [शकुजा]^४ मता ।
 मध्वासवो माध्विको मधुमाध्वीकमेव च ॥
 105 खार्जूरं शार्करं गौडं खर्जूरीशर्करादजम् ।
 मैरेयमासवं सीधुरापानं पानगोष्ठिका ॥
 शुण्डापानं मदस्थानमवदंशस्तु भक्षणम् ।
 उन्मदस्तूतकटः शौण्डो मत्तः [क्षीव]^५श्च मद्यपे ॥
 प्रस्नावे मेहनं मूत्रमाजं गव्यमजादजम्^६ । इति [तैलादिद्रवद्रव्याणि]^७
 110 स्थावरे [तत्स्थितवत्] रथास्तु चरिष्णु जङ्गमं^८ चरम् ॥
 जरायुजाएडजोद्विज्जस्वेदजश्च चतुर्विधः ।
 जरायुजा ^९नृगवाद्याः पक्षिसर्पादयोऽएडजाः ॥
 महीलताद्या उद्विज्जा स्वेदजाः कृमिदंशकाः ।
 प्राणी तु चेतनो जन्मी जन्तुजन्युशरीरिणः ॥
 115 त्वग्रक्तमांसमेदोऽस्थिमज्जाशुक्राणि धातवः ।
 शृङ्गान्त्र^{१०}स्नायुदशनाः केशा जङ्गमजाः स्मृताः ॥
 अजिनं संवृतं चर्म मृगादे मार्ग्यमुच्यते ।
 रुधिरासृग्लोहितास्त्ररक्तक्षतजशोणितम् ॥
 पिशितं तरसं मांसं पललं क्रव्यमामिषम् ।
 120 उत्तमं शुष्कमांसं स्यात्तद् वल्लूरं त्रिलिङ्गकम् ॥
 शूलाकृतं ^{११}भट्टिन्नं च शूल्यमुख्यं तु पैठरम् ।
 मेदो वसा वपा चैव कीकषं कुल्यमस्थि च ॥

^१F.द्रव्यं द्रव. ^२F.-सूत्रकं. ^३F.-एडति-. ^४F.शकुजा. But cf. Dalhaṇa on Su.1.45.180. ^५F.मत्तबीजश्च. ^६F.-कम्. ^७F.तैलद्रव्याणि. ^८F.तरवस्थास्तुभ-. Cf. V. F.कं-. ^९F.-व्य-. ^{१०}F.-न्त्रः-. ^{११}F.भट्टिन्नं.

- स्याच्छरीरास्थि कङ्कालः पृष्ठास्थि तु कशेरुका ।
 शिरोस्थनि^१ करोऽटः स्त्री पार्श्वस्थनि^२ तु पशुं का ॥
 125 मज्जा सारः कीर्तितो [ऽस्थिवर्ती]^३ रेतोनिधानकम् ।
 शुक्रं तेजोरेतसी च बीजवीर्येन्द्रियाणि च ॥
 गृथं पुरीषमुच्चारो वर्चो विष्ठा मलं शकृत् ।
 पुनर्भवः करुरुहो नखस्तु नखरोऽपि च ॥
 शृङ्गं विषाणं शीर्षस्थं परितान्तः(?)सरः(?)श्रुतिः^४ ।
 130 स्नायुर्नाडो वसा^५ हिंसा धमनी धारणा^६ शिरा ॥
 रदना दशनी दन्ता रदास्तु रुचकाः स्मृताः ।
 चिकुरः कुन्तलो बालः कचः केशः शिरोरुहः ॥
 तनूरुहं रोम लोम तद्गृद्धौ रमश्च पुंमुखे । इति जङ्गमप्रयोजनानि द्वाविंशतिः ।
 जङ्गमः स्यात् [त्रसश्चरः]^७ स्थावरो जङ्गमेतरः ॥
 135 चतुर्विधः सोऽपि वृक्षौषधी [वीरुद्]^८ वनस्पतिः ।
 वृक्षः पुष्पफलै यु^९ क्त्स्नरुः शाखी महीरुहः ॥
 विटपी पादपः शालः पलाशो द्रुद्रुमागमाः ।
 ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता रम्भेक्षविदनादयः ॥
 वल्ली प्रतानिनी वीरुद् गुल्मिनी व्रतति र्लता ।
 140 पुष्पैरलक्षिता या तु फलिनी^{१०} स्याद् वनस्पतिः ॥
 स्थावरप्रभवं मूलं पत्रं पुष्पं फलानि च ।
 नालप्ररोहनिर्यासमज्जावल्काऽङ्कुरादिकम् ॥
 व्रध्नः कन्दश्च मूलं च जटी नेत्रं पदाङ्गयम्^{११} ।
 पत्रं पलाशं छदनं दलं पर्णं छदः पुमान् ॥
 145 पल्लवः स्यात् किशलयं प्रवालं नवपल्लवे ।
 प्रसूनं कुसुमं पुष्पं सुमना मधुमन्दिरम् ॥

^१F.-स्थीनि. ^२F.-स्तस्तुवत्ति. ^३The text appears to be corrupt here. पुरीषत् and अन्त्रं seem to be expected. But if so, how to account for what we have above ? ^४Cf. असा, नसा, and वसनसा ŚK. ^५Cf. धारणी and धरणी ŚK., MW. ^६F.-स्थिरचरः. But cf. Am. and V. ^७F.-वृक्षौषधिभिश्च. ^८-चितो वस्तु फली ना ? ^९F. नेत्र पदाङ्गयः.

- क्षारको जालकं क्लीबे कलिका कोरकः पुमान् ॥
 उज्जृम्भितमुज्जिषितं विकसितमुज्जिद्रमुज्जिभम् ।
 विदलितहसितविकस्वरसम्मितफुल्लकुटोत्कचश्च^१ ॥
- 150 वृक्षादीनां फलं शस्यं बीजकोषः प्रसूनकम्^२ ।
 आमे फले शनादुः स्याच्छुष्के वानं तु नीरसम् ॥
 वृन्तं प्रमून[धि]^३ नालं प्रगोहस्तु शिकाङ्करः ।
 निर्यासो लसिका काण्डसत्त्वसाराभिधानकम् ॥
 सारो मज्जा च काण्डास्थि [वल्कं त्वक् चैव] वल्कलम्^४ ।
- 155 अङ्गुगो नूतनोद्भूतः क्षारं भूिश्च भेभ्रम च ॥ इति षोडशस्थावरप्रयाजनानि
 मानं तु त्रिविधं पाय्यं द्रव्यं यौवतं^५ विदुः ।
 पयः^६ प्रस्थादिकं मानं धान्यादौ पाय्यमंरितम् ॥
 अङ्गुल्यादिकृतं मानं द्रव्यं तन्निगद्यते ।
 सहाङ्गुष्ठेन तर्जन्यायतः प्रादेश उच्यते ॥
- 160 तालः श्रुतो मध्यमायां गोकर्णो ऽनामिकागते ।
 सकनिष्ठे ततोऽङ्गुष्ठे वितस्ति द्वाद्दशाङ्गुलः ॥
 चतुर्विंशाङ्गुलो हस्तः प्रकोष्ठ^७करविस्तृतिः ।
 सरन्नि बद्धया मुष्ट्या त्वरन्नि निष्कनिष्ठया ॥
 व्यामो बाह्वोः सकरयोस्ततयो स्तिर्यगन्तरम् ।
- 165 ऊर्ध्वं विस्तृतदोःपाणिनृमाने पौरुषं त्रिषु ॥ इति द्रव्यमानम् ।
 तुलादिभिः परिमितं यत्तस्मिन् यौवतं मतम् ।
 चतुर्भिर्धान्यकै युक्ता रक्तिका सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥
 ताभिश्चतुर्भिर्गुञ्जाभिश्चभ्रं स्यात् परिकीर्तितम् ।
 जायते सौश्रुतो माषो दश[भी रक्तिभि]^८ अथ तु ॥
- 170 अर्धमाषो ऽयमेतैश्च शाणो माषचतुष्टयम् ।
 कोलं शाणद्वयं तच्च वटकं द्रक्ष्यं तथा ॥

^१F.-स्फञ्जं. ^२वराटकः Am. ^३F.-धु. ^४F.वल्कलं त्वक् च वल्कलं. ^५Also यौवतव-and पौतव-ŚK., MW. ^६There seems to be a lapse here into giving different meanings as in 23.83. ^७F.-ष्ठः. Cf. Am. प्रकोष्ठे विस्तृतकरे हस्तः. ^८F.-दुर्गावः. ^९F.-भिन्नरते.

- कर्षं तद्वद्विगुणं पाणितलमक्षः सुवर्णवम् ।
 पिचु बिहालपदकं क्वचिच्च^१ कवलमहः ॥
 शुक्तिरद्धपलं ताभ्यां पलं कर्षचतुष्टयम् ।
 175 चतुर्थकं षोडशकं बिल्वं मुष्टिः प्रकुञ्चकम् ॥
 द्विपलं प्रसृतं तुर्ये^२ले तु कुडवो ऽञ्जलिः ।
 चतुःपलं तु कुडवं शरावादधं उच्यते ॥
 मानिकाष्ट पलान्येव शरावः कुडवद्वयम् ।
 चत्वारः कुडवाः प्रस्थः प्रस्थाश्चत्वार आढकः ॥
 180 मात्रा पात्रश्च कंसश्च द्रोणस्तुर्याढको मतः ।
 अर्मणं^३ रत्नवणं राशिः कलशो घट एव च ॥
 कुम्भो द्रोणद्वयं सूर्पो गोणी द्रोणचतुष्टयम् ।
 खारो तु षोडशद्रोण्यां दशभिर्धरणैस्तुला ॥
 चतुर्वाहे निकुञ्जः स्यात्तुलामानमिति स्मृतम् । इति मानव्यवस्थः ।
 185 चतुष्पादं^४ चिकित्साया वैद्यरोग्यौषधानुगाः^५ ॥
 रोगहार्यगङ्गारो भिषग्वैद्यौ चिकित्सकः ।
 ग्लानो^६ ग्लानस्तुरामयावी विकृतो व्याधितोऽपटुः ॥
 भेषजौषधभैषज्याभ्यगदो जायुरित्यपि ।
 सहायः किङ्करो भृत्यः सेवकोभिसरोऽनुगः ॥
 190 विपाको भाजनं दर्वी^७ सारः^८ क्रीटमपीन्धनम् ।
 पचनं^९ रन्धनं पाको रसव्यक्तीकरस्तथा ॥
 पिठरः स्थाल्युखा कुण्डः कटिस्थः कलशो घटः ।
 सर्वमावपनं भाण्डं पात्रामत्रे^{१०} च भाजनम् ॥
 दर्वी^{११} कम्बिः खजाका च स्यात्तदूर्^{१२} दारुहस्तकः ।
 195 स्नेहात्तैलादयः साराः कल्कः किट्टं^{१३} मलोऽपि च ॥
 काष्ठं दाविन्धनं त्वेध इध्ममेधः सभिन्त त्रियाम् ।
 स्वरसः कल्कितं चूर्णं शीतफाण्टकषायकाः ॥
 षडेते वैद्य[को]^{१४}दिष्टाः कषाया[णां प्र]^{१५}कल्पनाः ।
 क्षुण्णानामपि द्रव्याणां यो रसः खरसस्तु सः ॥

^१F.क्वेचिच्च. ^२Usually नखणं. ^३F.-स्याद-. ^४F.-रोगौषधानुगा. ^५F.ग्लान-. ^६F.दर्वी. ^७=किङ्क
 MW. ^८F.पा-. ^९F.पात्रमात्रं. ^{१०}F.दर्वी. ^{११}F.-पचन-. ^{१२}F.-मुदिष्टाः. ^{१३}F.-वयस्य-.

- 200 शिलाभ्यां पेषितः कलःश्चूर्णं श्लक्षणीकृतं रजः ॥
 द्रव्यमाकुट्टितं तोये कोष्णे चाहनि संस्थितम् ।
 कषायोऽप्याभिनिर्याति स शीतः परिकीर्तितः ॥
 चूर्णस्य सलिलात्तप्तान्मर्दितादुद्धृतस्य च ।
 यो भवेत् स्वरसस्तज्ज्ञैः फाण्ट इत्यभिधीयते ॥
- 205 कषायस्तु शृतं तोयं चतुर्भागाष्टभागिकम् ॥ इति बद्धिबोधप्रक्रिया ।

[अथ नानार्थाः]

- कटुत्रिकेऽपि कटुकं त्रिफलायां क्वचित् फलम् ।
 अञ्जलिः कुडवेऽपि स्याद्विशाखाऽपि कठिञ्जके ॥
 लोहं चागुरुसारेऽपि रुधिरं कुङ्कुमेऽपि च ।
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- 210 नेत्राम्बुरक्तयोरस्त्रं शर्करापि सितोपलः ।
 माह्वी नृपपर्यायां च पंक्तिं नौडीव्रणेऽपि च ॥
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- 215 व्यञ्जनं चापि सूपादौः रेतस्यपि च पौषम् ॥
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- गृहे वास्तवावसदने (?)^१ मद्ये पुष्परसे मधु ॥
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^१गृहेऽवसादे सदनं? Ratna. has(ऽङ्ग)सादे सदनं. ^२F.गन्धिषु. ^३F.-वै. ^४F.स्वज्ञाने.

^५F.-यौ. ^६F.चन्दाके. ^७F.कण्टके. ^८F.दिष्टे तकेऽसिते.

- 255 अरिष्टं^१ सूतकागारतिक्त^२निम्बापमृत्युषु ॥
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 द्विनवत्यधिकेनैतत्पर्यायाणां^{९९} शतेन तु ।

^१Cf. तिकायां Ratna. ^२F. बाळे. ^३मादके ? ^४F. युग्मं. ^५F. शस्ता. ^६F.-पिशाचे.

^७F.-ताम्रिका. ^८F. प्राणके.

- त्रयोविंशतिको वर्गः समाप्तो भौतिकाभिधः ॥
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 परं खिन्नां दृष्ट्वा सुमननधियां मूढाभिपजां
 निवध्नाति स्मेमां हरिचरणसेनो विमलधीः^२ ॥

इति श्रीहरिचरणसेनारचितायां पर्यायमुक्तावल्यां भौतिकादिनवार्थवर्गस्त्रयोविंशः ॥ २३ ॥

^१F. मोघ.^२Read निगूढार्था बह्वो ममररचिता माधवकरप्रणीता पर्यायावलिमपि विहीनक्रमवती ।

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MARCH



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